O.9.24

THE MINISTER OF STATE.

VVherein is ſhewn, The true uſe OF Modern Policy.

BY

MONSIEVR DE SILHON,

Secretary to the late

Cardinall RICHELIEU.

Engliſhed by *R. H.*

Tandem didici, animis ſapientiores fieri quieſcendo.

LONDON,

Printed for *Thomas Dring*; And are to be ſold at his ſhop at the *George* in *Fleetſtreet* neare *Cliffords Inne*. 1658.

427:12

TO THE
RIGHT HONORABLE LORD,
THE LORD
VISCOUNT SCUDAMORE.

My Lord,

THis Tranſiation makes its firſt addreſſe to your Honour's Accurat judgment, but craves no protection for the Matter, or Expreſſions of the Originall; For, the Matter is but the reſult of your Reaſonings; and the Expreſsions, but the repetition of your Eloquence. In th' Author, two things, beſides his exact knowledge in Civill and Divine affairs, are very remarkable; his Love to Truth, and Hatred to Detraction: As to Truth, he holds it forth, as the beſt & moſt permanent Policy for Princes, and their Miniſters of State. *Buy the Truth, but ſell it not*, ſaies *Solomon*. *Magna eſt Veritas, & prævalebit.* As to Detraction, he condemns the practice of it in all perſons, and gives th'example t'others. For he is ſparing in the diſcovery of ſome ſharp Truths, and permits the Matter, Errours, or Crimes, to publiſh the men. And it were to be wiſhed, that perſonall obloquie were not as modeable in our daies, as new dreſſes.

In the buſineſſe of Religion, he may be found zealous, but not ſuperſtitious, and rather of the *Gallican*, then *Papall* perſwaſion. Deceits and Vices are decryed by him, in what ſubject ſoever he finds them; Piety and Vertue highly exalted. For he made them, if report be true, his daily exerciſe; as knowing, that nothing can be perpetuall, but what is founded upon Piety or Vertue: for they are equall in the Ballance, when Vices endure no equality. And being bred in the School of that *eminent and ſucceſsfull Cardinall of Richlieu*, and cheriſhed in his Converſation and Houſe, did collect the moſt refined products of his Policy, Wit, and Experience, and gather the choiceſt Flowers of his Garden.

The Book had a very high eſteem in *France*, at the publication in *Paris*, and hath juſtified its credit in the preſent uſe, as an approved Jewell; and it cannot go leſſe in value here, where Learning and good Wits abound, and the judgment of diſcerning a true Diamond from a Pibble ſtone, though never ſo well ſet; equall, if not ſuperiour, to any Nation of the World.

My Lord,

Forgive the exerciſe of your patience ſo long, in the Porch of this beautifull and regular Edifice, raiſed from the materialls of the Brain, and adorned with the Beauties of *Rhetorick*, and Examples drawn to the life. But the Key being now in your hand, your Lordſhip may enter at pleaſure, and diſmiſſe,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhips humble Servant,

H.H.

ADVERTISEMENT.

READER,

I Have ſome Conſiderations to repreſent unto thee concerning this VVork, whereupon I beſeech thee to caſt thy eyes. The firſt is in relation to the Matter, which is compoſed of Reaſonings and Examples. As to the Reaſonings, thou ſhalt know them to be wholly mine, and a pure product of my witt, and by conſequence imperfect, and taſtes of the weakeneſſe of the principle from which it is derived. When I diſcourſe of paſt Occurrences, and of things hapned in the Raignes of the King, If the true motives have not alwaies been encountred by me, nor the eſſentiall cauſes of their ſucceſſe; I have nothing to ſay to thee, but that I had not the ſpirit of Divination; That I have not received remembrances or inſtructions from any perſon; And that th' Actions of Princes are like great Rivers, the beginning and ſprings whereof few perſons have ſeen, though an infinite of perſons ſee the courſe and progreſſe of them.

If any perſon thinks my Judgement too free, chiefly when I ſpeake of the Pope and the matters of Rome, I beſeech him to conſider that gentler Conſequences cannot be drawn from th' Examples that are brought; If th' examples are falſe, I have not invented them; the ſprings are well knowne: There's cauſe nevertheleſſe to praiſe God that ſome of the Paſtors who have governed his Church have not been ſo black as they are painted. If they are true, there's cauſe to admire the Divine Providence in preſerving his Church from decay and ſpot, in the time of corruption of ſome of its members, and in maintaining of it in health, the plague being ſo neer it. That is to ſay, as I underſtand it, that nothing was altered of the meanes which God hath appointed to guide us to our ſupernaturall end. That the Doctrine of Faith which is one of the Principles that makes us act Chriſtianly, and which hath workes for her neareſt end, is alwaies the ſame. That the Sacraments which conferr and increaſe grace in us by virtue of the Inſtitution of Jeſus Chriſt, and not by virtue of what we bring unto it of ours, as of a meritorious cauſe, are not changed for the number, their matter, or their forme; That the permanent and incorruptible State in theſe two things is found only

in that holy Hierarchy which makes that myſticall Body of Jeſus Chriſt; which is compoſed of a head that repreſents it, and of many principall & ſubalterne members who hold of that head, and with an admirable dependency and union amongſt themſelves. That it never hapned that this Head, and thoſe members to whom it belongs to guide others, have together, and with a common conſent, failed againſt theſe two things; and that it will never happen to th'end of the world, at leaſt if the Promiſes of God are eternall, and his Word unchangeable; and therefore no perſon is to wonder, if out of the Church there be no ſalvation, ſince the Church only containes that means that brings us thither, and preſerves inviolable the ſubſtance and number of the Sacraments, and the purity of th'Evangelicall doctrine. Moreover, and for what reſpecteth every member of the Church in particular, That God hath left them in the hands of their counſell to beleeve or live as they pleaſe; that he hath put before them fire and water, that they may make their choyce, and that he impoſeth no neceſſity upon them, but leaves them the power of their will, that's to ſay, the power to follow that good or to forſake it, to doe evill or to abſtaine from it.

When I ſpeake then with liberty of the vices of ſome Popes, *and of the corruption of ſome of their Agents; I doe not thinke to wrong Religion, nor to offend the Church. The Cardinall* Baronius *relates, with much more ſeverity or leſſe allay then I doe, the abuſes which overflowed the Court of Rome when two famous whores* Theodoſia, *and* Moroſia, *governed it, and the Popes of that time; A man muſt not alwaies ſet himſelfe againſt known truths: Who ſupport ill cauſes loſe their credit, & make themſelvs to be ſuſpected, when they have good ones to defend; & reſemble certain perſons who being equally honeſt to all the world are not ſo to any perſon; and putting neither difference nor meaſure to their civilities, and treating with the ſame honours and complements, the perſons of ſmall merit and baſe condition, oblige not ſo much the one as they wrong th' others. Nevertheleſſe if I am not deceived, I doe exerciſe ſuch a moderation in ſpeaking of Popes, and ſo well ſupport what is of Gods inſtitution in condemning what proceeds from the weakneſſe and from the corruption of man, that I am ſo farre from beleeving my ſelfe guilty of blame, that I think, without vaunt, to have merited ſomewhat from the Holy Chayre, if without paſſion judgement be paſſed upon me. Howſoever if I flatter my ſelfe in my apprehenſions, and if the love of my worke deceives me, I ſubmit with a compleat ſubmiſſion to the judgement of Superiours, and of them who have power to regulate my opinions, and to impoſe lawes upon my underſtanding. What they ſhall condemne, I condemne it; I doe now retract what they ſhall not eſteeme good, and I have not ſo little of Chriſtianity as not to know that tis better to obey and exerciſe a neceſſary vertue, then to make a noyſe in the world and gaine a vaine reputation of ſpirit, in defending an ambiguous Opinion. Let this be ſaid in paſſing-by, and by way of prevention.*

Advertizement.

As for the Examples which make out th'other part of the matter of this work; I adviſe thee Reader, that if the Authors from whom I have taken them are deceived, I will not be their ſecurity: If I have miſtaken my ſelfe in what I have taken from them, I confeſſe freely that that fault is voluntary; that 'tis a defect for which a remedy might have been found in conſulting with knowing men or bookes, but that I have not done it for want of leiſure or induſtry: If any perſon take it ill that I doe make ſo frequent uſe of Spaniſh Examples, I beſeech him to conſider that I doe it for two or three reaſons. The firſt, that its the French humour to be more ſenſible of ſtrange things than them of their country. The ſecond, in ſo much that they will ſerve the more to make knowne the Conduct of the Spaniards; which is a neceſſary knowledge to the Agents of other Princes, ſince that Nation holds other Chriſtian nations in perpetuall exerciſe, and obligeth them to be with her or againſt her. The third, inſomuch that, ſpeaking generally, that Nation underſtands th' Art to governe and command men better then any Nation in the world. If I ſpeak in many places with prayſe of S. the Cardinall; bee it conſidered apart from the intereſt of any perſon, that I take nothing from another to give to him: That I do attribute alwaies to the King the chiefe glory of good ſucceſſe; That I doe repreſent him as the principall and firſt cauſe of the good fortune of France, *and that the prayſes which I give to S. the Cardinall, are applyed unto him in ſuch a manner that they rebound nevertheleſſe upon the King. That I condemne not in particular any living perſon. That I commend others whom I meet with in my diſcourſe who deſerve it, and give honour to vertue whereſoever I finde it: That I doe report what paſſed under the Government of that great Miniſter of State by way of Example, and as I doe relate the Actions of a* Ferrand Gonſalve, *or of a* Gaſton of Foix, *of a* Prince of Parma, *or of a* Duke of Guyſe, *that I adde nothing to th' Actions; that I ſpeake not but of the things wee have touched and ſeene, whereof our ſenſes are Judges, and whereunto all Nations give Evidence. I doe but reaſon upon it, let it be examined whether my reaſonings are weake and ill grounded: and if they who take offence have better Moralls and better Politiques then mine; I doe not pretend to hinder them of the light or of the value they ſhall put upon them; with theſe Precautions. It cannot be thought ſtrange that I prayſe a Perſon who hath rendred ſo great Services to the King, which are known to all the world, who hath ſo much merited of the State and of Religion; that our Neighbours and they that love us not, have an infinite eſteeme for him; and that he is my Maſter.*

It remains to ſpeake of the forme of the Worke, which is the ſtyle: Whereupon, Reader, *I doe timely adviſe thee that I am not enflamed with eloquence: That I have laboured Things more then Words: That I have not read* Quintilian, *nor the Rhetorique of* Ariſtotle, *unleſſe it be that part where he ſpeakes of the paſſions of Men, and of the affections of divers Ages. And therefore, if there*

be

be any thing that reliſhes of this Art, know that it entred by chance, and ſlipped in by accident: That 'tis a plant that growes of it ſelfe, and without being ſet; and that I have done like the needle of a watch which markes the howers, without knowing of it. Notwithſtanding I confeſſe that I have not neglected to give it ornaments after my faſhion; that's to ſay, naturall; and that I had ſtrewed more flowers if I had had them, or more leaſure to have gathered them; Thou mayſt finde there ſome inequality, and ſome places that are not ſo ſtrong or ſo well digeſted as others. But 'tis, that all the matters or the manner wherewith they ought to be handled are not capable of the ſame force and graces. It goes much better, when the ſubject carries us, and that we have wind and tide, then when we cannot move but by the ſtrength of Armes and Oares. And the Maiſters of fortifications ſay, that there are places upon the Earth which cannot be made ſtrong; not for want of Art, but by reaſon of the vitious platforme and ſituation.

I beſeech thee alſo, not to ſtart back at th' Entry, and at the reading of the firſt diſcourſe which hath ſome Rudeneſſe in it, whereof I am very ſenſible and which is not ſufficiently poliſhed nor adorned.

THE

THE MINISTER OF STATE.

First Diſcourſe.

That, An Excellent Miniſter of State is an Evidence of the Fortune of a Prince, and the Inſtrument of the happineſſe of a State.

First Book.

IN the courſe of Affairs, 'tis certain, that Deſignes onely are in the power of man, and that all Events are diſpoſed by ſome Power above him, and which being infinitely wiſe, doth nothing by Chance. Th' hazard, to which ſo many things are attributed, is a work of our brain, and none of the Principles of governing the World. All things are guided without our help, in Light and Juſtice; and the blind goddeſſe, that is called *Fortune*, is a fancy, which Philoſophy hath not adored, and Religion hath aboliſhed in the deſtruction of Idolatry. Th' invention nevertheleſſe hath not been unprofitable. The miſerable, charge the cauſes of their miſery upon it; and th' imprudent, th' effects of their ill conducts: Her name is in the mouths of all perſons, the wiſe and unwiſe do equally employ it; and uſe is made of it ſometimes, to be the better underſtood, and not to depart from a received cuſtome, nor from the tearms that are practiſed. But to declare what 'tis; The Power we ſpeak of, is no other thing, than God himſelf; inſomuch that he undertakes the government of free cauſes,

Book I. and disposeth of them to his ends, whether they be conformable to theirs, or contrary to them. And as the first *Mobile*, without destroying the naturall motion of the other Heavens, doth make them subject to his, and carries them from th' East to the West; so God doth manage in such sort the actions of the Creatures, which work with liberty, that without violating their freedom, and by the encounter of other causes, wherein he doth cast them, infallibly drawes th' effect which he proposed to himself, and which from humane foresight is often litle expected.

In a word, the workman that observes the rules of his Art, is never disappointed of his intention; the Painter, that perfectly understands the mixtures of Colours, and the proportions of Figures, drawes at pleasure exquisite Pictures; th' Architect, that casts his designes by the rules of Architecture, makes them happily to prosper. But the faireſt operations of Man, wherein his nobleſt part hath moſt intereſt, are not solely capable of attaining their end, and th' effect aimed at. *Hannibal* acted the full duties of a brave Captain, and yet was overcome by *Scipio*. *Cicero* forgets nothing of the charge of an excellent Oratour, yet *Milon* was condemned; and *André Doria* sees the Fleet of his Master perish in the Port of *Argiers*, notwithstanding his skill and experience in Maritime affairs. But what God addes to the Principles that are in us, th' occasions which He causeth to arise for us, the means which he suscitates, th' obstacles which he diverts in our favour, and all th' assistance which He gives us, to make our desires to prosper, is, that which we call, Good fortune, and them, Happy, which receive it. But this good successe doth not alwaies accompany Justice, and Holy enterprises, as God doth not alwaies oppose unjust and violent designes; th' Infidells have often triumphed over th' Armies of Christians, and of Catholicks. The most holy of our Kings hath been unhappy in his two Voyages beyond the Seas; and the Cause of God, for which he made War, and th' Interest of Religion, could not secure him from prison, nor from the plague. On the contrary, nothing is read comparable to the successe of Usurpators; nothing put a stop to *Alexander*'s successes, but his death; and a Prince, for whose ambition the world was too little, and that had the vanity to think, that there was not matter enough therein for his courage; had fortune so favourable, that she covered his faults, and rendred his failings happy. *Cæsar* had most successe, in the most unjust War he ever made; he had no more to do than to go and conquer, in dissipating the *Romans* Common-wealth. She that gave the

Law

Law to all the Earth, fell, in leſſe time, than is laid out in taking of a City; and three years have deſtroyed the works of many ages. *Attila* and *Tamberlain* have paſſed like lightning in their conqueſts; and the Race of *Ottomans*, which takes away Religion from God, and liberty from men, hath obtained ſo many victories, and extended ſo far its Dominions, for theſe hundred years and upwards, that no forraigne force ſeemes ſufficient and capable for the preſent, to abate the forces of that Empire; and that it hath nothing more to fear but its own greatneſſe and exceſſive powers. The reaſon of this diverſity is, that God doth not alwaies work miracles, and diſorders not the order of things for the love of honeſt men; and as it is very reaſonable to rayſe their courage and confirme their hopes, that God ſhould ſometimes viſibly haſten to their releife, ſo it is alſo moſt conformable to the lawes of his providence, and to the ſweetneſſe of his conduct, that ſecond cauſes be ſuffred for the moſt part to act according to their capacity and extent of their force: and therefore, in order to that, the weake to give way to the ſtronger; that a leſſer virtue, politique I meane, obey the greater; and that they, who have notorious advantages of their enemies, have alſo upon them notorious ſucceſſes: otherwiſe truly he ſhould oblige himſelfe to repaire all the faults of them who have good intentions. And if goodneſſe alone ſhould be ſucceſsfull in the world, prudence ſhould be baniſhed from the civill life, and induſtry from the trayne of affaires. Book I.

As to the ſucceſſes of Uſurpators, It is eaſie to give the reaſon, if we ſearch the cauſes of the change of States, and of the Revolution of Empires. Tis certaine that the greateſt & moſt Extended are not alwaies the firmeſt, nor the moſt durable: on the contrary, as the moſt delicate fruits are ſooner ſpoyled then others, and a perfect health is an inſtance of a diſeaſe approaching; it happens alſo that States which are in the flower of their force, and at the laſt round of their happineſſes, are not farre from their fall; Pleaſure enters with wealth; power produceth ambition, & theſe two paſſions, which aſpect alwaies their ends without exception to meanes, draw with them ſo many other evills, that of neceſſity thoſe unhappy States muſt periſh & be tranſlated into a new form of Government: In this fatall conjuncture, if a perſon of courage & of ambition to conquer, take Armes, he finds the matter ready prepared; God ſeconds his deſigne, and abandons them unto him whom ambition had divided, and whom delicacies had deprived of Judgement, and effeminated their courage, not that he doth inſpire the conquerors with unjuſt thoughts

nor

Book I. nor with those furious motions which thrust them on to usurp what belongs to others, and to violate the rights of humane society; but acted of their owne accord, and by their owne election, he may lawfully favour them; and his justice will not suffer many good actions of theirs to passe unrewarded, nor them unpunished who have abused his graces.

But when he makes choice of a person to repaire the disorders of the world, or for the good of a particular State; Then his care is shewed in furnishing him with necessary principles to undertake great matters. The thoughts are put in his soule by God, and he gives the power to execute them; he troubles and confounds his enemies, and leades him as by the hand to victories and triumphs; and one of the greatest expedients whereof he serves himselfe for this purpose, is, to rayse unto him, excellent men, to whom he communicates his cares, and who help him to beare the weight of Affaires.

And as the operations of the soul do themselves good or ill according to the conditions of the organs and quality of their temper; the prosperity or adversity of Princes depends on them, in whose hands their authority is placed, and who dispose of their power. *Alexander* had never conquered *Asia*, nor made the *Indians* to tremble but for *Ephestion*, *Parmenio*, and *Clytus*; *Cæsar* gained many battails by the hands of his Lieutenants; and the fayrest Empire of the world which ambition and ill of the times had divided into three parts, was reduced under the dominion of *Augustus* by the Counsell of *Mecænas*, and by the Valour of *Agrippa*; *Justinian* triumphed over *Persia*, and destroyed the *Vandals* in *Africa*, and the *Goths* in *Italy*, by the aide of *Belisarius* and *Narcete*.

The Count of *Dunois*, *Pothon*, the *Hire*, and the Mayde *Jane* delivered *France* from the invasion of the *English*; And the first Man of the past-age of whom it may truly be reported, that he was too happy for a Christian Prince, hath by his conduct, or with the ayde of his Ministers of State, taken *Rome* and *Thunis*, a Pope, a King of *France*; given chase to *Soly man*, and made it appeare to *Germany* that it was to be conquered. That very Prince who was so intelligent in all things, and had added so many acquired qualities to the gifts of nature, tooke the liberty to tell his Son in presenting to him the Secretary *Erasso*, that he gave him some-what that was greater than his States, and than the Crownes which he had resigned unto him. By such sort of persons, Principalities and Monarchies have been first founded. And for the love of them the people have voluntarily renounced their Liberties; and they are the persons who renew also under their Sove-

raignes

raigns, the naturall and primitive order of command, and of that obedience which is amongst men: And truly 'twas very reasonable (since a difference ought to be made amongst them) that Merit should begin to make it: The Society to which they are born, and without which they cannot subsist, is a Consort so delicate, and a Fabrick composed of so many pieces, that if it be not guided by a dextrous prudence, and maintained by a soveraign vertue, a very little thing confounds and disorders it. Book. I.

And insomuch that they who attain to such a condition are Extraordinary, but not Immortal, and have not alwaies successors of their virtue, as they have of their dignity; It happens ordinarily that they leave, in favour of the people, a representation of their reason, and as a Monument of their Philosophy, The Laws and good Orders: And again, because all Laws are not good in all times, and that they cannot provide against all occurrences and the accidents of life; 'tis necessary that he raise also some wise Person, whose prudence may supply the defects, and give them such a just temper and wholesome proportion as may best fit the Time, Men, and Affairs.

'Tis then a most certain truth, that good Ministers of state are the glory of their Princes, and happiness of the people: on the contrary, the wicked are the shame of throne, and dispair of th'other: They are the naturall principles of the Corruption of States; all ill humours are awakened under their conduct; they serve for pretence, to the spight of discontented, and to the disturbance of factious persons; and the people who are troubled to permit the Government of honest men, are carried to License, and enclined to Rebellion, when they fall under the power of those who are dishonest. It seems to them that 'tis enough to have one Master, to whom necessary obedience ought to be paid, and whose yoak God doth oblige them to carry how grievous soever it be made; but to obey them who are not their Soveraigns when they do them hurt, when they triumph in their vexations, and nourish themselves in their bloods 'Tis a sad necessity for them, and a hard essay of patience. In effect, *If Aristotle hath defined a Tyrant to be, The person who hath his peculiar interest more before his eyes, then the good of his subjects*: Into the hands of how many Tyrants do the miserable people fall, when they are governed by corrupt Ministers of State? and nevertheless 'tis a Flayl which they seldom want: And as the Prince looks upon the State as a Wife that belongs to him, and which cannot be taken from him: There are Ministers of State to be found, who cast their eyes upon

Book I. it as a Mistress, whom they endeavour to strip naked whilst they do enjoy her.

Second Discourse.

That th'art to govern is doubtfull, and difficult; and receives a great relieſe from Learning.

'Tis not strange that so few honest men are found in the frequent occasions of sinning; nor that the knowledge of governing should be so rare when 'tis so difficult. The reason of State which is the matter, is so perplexed and ambiguous, and th'affairs have so many lights which confound our sight, that 'tis no wonder, if we are often troubled to chuse our party, and if the choyce made in so great a confusion be rather a stroak of chance, and triall of our liberty, than a rational election. Moreover the greatest part of politick precepts which are left us, and reduced into a forme of science, are such abstruse things, that if Nature or Experience give not the art of Application, they become pernicious or vain; instead very often of making an able man, they make onely a Pedant, they communicate presumption rather then wisdome, they make many to wander, rather then discover unto them the neareſt way; and for an uncertain reformation which they promise, they confound and alter all things by the novelties they introduce. The way also by Examples, is so deceitfull, and the past makes so ill a judgement of the future, that no certainty can be raised out of it: And as two Faces equally beautiful, or two Dayes of compleat resemblance are rarely seen; so the condition of affairs is alwaies various, where the Vertue of the persons that mannage them is not alike, nor their fortune equall. And again, as there's not much cause for him to deliberate, who hath not two faces, nor a party to follow, nor reasons to dispose him; There are none also, who want examples and accidents to favour them.

The *Pope*, the *Duke* of *Milan*, and the *King* of *Naples* make a league against *Florence*: To divert the tempest, *Laurence* of *Medicis*, seeks the last; casts himself at his discretion, and by that brave confidence withdrawes him from the league, and prevents the lightning that was ready to fall, and might have burned his Country.

Charles the eighth entred *Italy* like a *Torrent*, which drowned all that it encountred; nothing made resistance; and *Florence* that was on his way trembled for fear of her liberties. In this fatall fear and consternation of spirits, *Peter* of *Medicis*, Son

Son of *Laranee*, goes to meet the victorious, and casts himselfe unhappily into his nets; Th'example which he would have followed, was destructive to him, and he returned not till he had put the keys of the States of the Common-wealth into our hands, till the Country way plundred of all without, and in danger to be lost, if the generosity of the Citizens had not been greater than the resolution of *Charles*, and than the fortune of that unwise Conqueror. Book I.

When the Sr. of *Lautree* undertook th'enterprise of *Naples*, *Hugo Moneado* resolved to defend onely the City, and to abandon the rest of the Kingdom. The Duke of *Alva* took a contrary course, when the Sr. of *Groyse* assaulted him there, and by th'advice of *Ferrand Gonsalve*, resolved to dispute all, and to destroy us by a multitute of Sieges; both resolutions prospered, and two very different Counsells had the same end, and the same effect, The victory. There have been some whose single presence, and first words, have instantly appeased th'insurrection of the people. And there have been others whom this monster hath suddenly devoured, to whom they have not given the leasure to speak nor to open the mouth. How often by this meanes hath *Cesar* and *Germanicus* appeased the tumults of the Souldiers, and the sedition of Armies? And how many others have perished in the same way, whose sight enflamed the humours that were but moved, enraged those that were but provoked, and caused in them a desire of satiating themselves with their blood, who before murmured onely against their Governments. In like manner they that have condemned *Henry* the third for leaving *Paris* in that notorious revolt, which is called the *Baricados*, have at least left as much cause to resist their judgement as they had to condemn a Prince; who chose rather to retire, then to expose himselfe to an evill that had no remedy if it happened; who permitted his people to be felons, rather then to put them in a condition of being Parricides; and that would not willingly suffer their faults to be compleated, nor that the greatness of their crimes should make them seek, in the death of him they had offended, impunity, which they believed was not to be found in his clemency: But 'tis the errour of the greatest part of men, to exclaim alwaies against th'unfortunate: There's no disgrace, whereof they that suffer it are not guilty in the opinion of the pople. Of all the expedients which they had in hand, they were the best which they had quitted, when those they had taken did not prosper; and no old man ever dyed, were he never so decayed or decrepit, to whom his life had not been lengthned; if such a thing had

Book I. not been done, or some other thing had been done. And though it thus fall out, it must nevertheless be confessed, that nothing doth sooner polish a well composed understanding, then Policy and History, nor that any thing is more profitable for it then conversation with the dead, and absent persons: therein he knows in a little time th'affairs of all Ages; there he enjoyes the experience of all the great persons that have preceded; and there also he finds lights which hinder him often to fall, and which make out the dangers unto him which he ought to pass; and th'ambushes which he ought to avoid: at least by the favour of Books and Studies, he gains that which prepares him against surprises. And sudden accidents, give not him the disturbance they give to ignorant persons; since nothing is so near unto him, whereof he hath not read something approaching, or like unto it. The life of man is so short, or so vexed, that it hardly holds out for five or six important Negotiations; and ordinarily they who have but the single common sense to act, cease to live, or have not health when they have experience: on the contrary, they whom studie prepares, and are guided by Philosophy, prosper quickly if they meet with very profitable discourse. They are dextrous so soon as they touch upon businesse, and have the same advantage over the first; as in Painting, they have, who enjoy the science of Design and Proportion, over them who have nothing of Acquisition when they begun to paint. Of this, we have, without going from the modern time, illustrious examples, and eminent persons. *Monlue*, Bishop of *Valence*, under *Francis* the second, and under *Charles* the ninth. *Pinai*, Arch-bishop of *Lyons*, under *Henry* the third; and the *Cardinal* of *Ossat*, under the same Prince, and under *Henry* the Great, have been consummated almost assoon in businesse, as known in Councills: And for the war, the Marquess of *Pescary*, who was so brave, and whom the League of *Italy* judged worthy to be opposed to *Charles* the fifth, when he was most happy. The last Prince of *Orenge*, whose life had been too glorious if it had been shorter, and if fortune had suffered him to have perished in the relief of *Bergen Opsan*. The Marquess of *Spinola*, who deserved at first to command th'Armies of *Spain*, and to be the Rivall of the last Prince of *Orenge* in military science: The greatest number of these great persons, I say, owe to Books, a part of the honour which they have gained without watching, and of that high reputation which they have so timely obtained.

But why should we search into the Age past, and amongst strangers for proofs of this truth? since we have them so clear

clear and visible in the person of *Sr. the Cardinal of Richlieu*: 'Tis true, that Nature hath given him all she had to give, to make him perfect: & that she hath powred out upon him with ful hands, her favour and riches. But 'tis true also, that he hath laboured very hard to compleat himselfe, and that study and meditation have acquired unto him almost all that was wanting to nature, and all that could be expected from experience. Th'affairs have served more for matter to his understanding in the exercise of it, than for occasion to instruct it: He knew how to command before he had ever obeyed; and there's nothing so great in Peace and Warre, which was difficult unto him, when he had undertaken it. We will make, God assisting, in another place an expres discourse of the profits of knowledge. Book. I.

The third Discourse.

That the knowledge of the Moral, is a necessary preparation for the Politique.

THere's no question but that the knowledg of Manners is a necessary preparative for the Civil knowledge; and that they who aspire to this without being furnish'd with the other, may be resembled to sick persons who undertake to run before they have the force to go. The conduct of man in his particular, is an abstracted picture of the Government of States: In all things there are difficulties to be surmounted, and enemies to be overcomne. A command, and an obedience are there to be established; labours within and without are to be exercised, and a felicity is to be there gained, as th'end of both lifes; wherefore I will speak here a word of the Morall, and of its usage. The matter is thorny, but it shall be profitable; if it be not agreeable, it shall be wholesome; and if there be neither colours nor perfumes to deligh the senses, there shall be substance, and truth, for the satisfaction of th'understanding, and for discovery of reason. However, the discourse shall not be tedious, because it shall be very short.

The Morall then respects Man all alone, and out of the tumult of affairs and publique agitation, it considers the two parts whereof he is framed, and that strange Engine which is composed of body and spirit, of sense and understanding. It acts in maintaining th'order which ought to be preserved betwixt two so different natures and extremities. It would have the noblest to command, the most illuminated

Book I. to govern; that profit give place to honesty; that vertue be preferred before pleasure. And that what is most conformable to the dignity of Man, hold also the first rank in his inclinations, and be the principall object of his cares, and the chiefest endeavour of his life. In this order consists his glory and naturall felicity. The contrary, that's to say, when the composition hath so obstructed th'understanding, and seized upon the faculties, that it becomes slave to the body, makes out a fearfull confusion, and a lamentable *Anarchy*. The middle condition is a state of civil War, wherein common persons are alwaies engaged, and from which wise men are not ever exempted. 'Tis betwixt reason and passions, th'one whereof is the property of th'understanding, and resides in the chiefest place of the soul: And th'others are formed in the low Region, and in that brutall capacity which follows onely th'impressions of sense, and is concerned onely in the good of th'Animal part. They are raised and enflamed, as th'object that provokes is violent and rapid. But 'tis not necessary, that in themselves there should be that violence and force which stirs up th'appetite; it sufficeth, that 'tis received in th'imagination where it enters. There it takes the forme and the colour as pleaseth to that fantastick faculty; there it swels or abates, as it seems good to that Fool. In one place it communicates joy, in another it raiseth sadness: Now 'tis but an Atome, which is hardly felt, and which doth but scarcely touch upon the superficies of the soul; and in four moments after 'tis a Monster, which teares and divides it into pieces, which makes havoke in all its powers, and which brings trouble even to the Will which it would corrupt, and even to Reason also which it endeavours to suborne; so certain is it, that the imagination is supple and various, and that things act not in us according to Their measure, but according to Hers. 'Tis true, that the objects which are agreeable to the sense, and promise them their felicity, are to be feared. And there's no imagination so weighty nor dull, which is not raised; nor appetite so cold and so mortified, which is not heated; moreover the disturbance is sometimes so great, and the tempest so furious, that it is not in the power of the soul to quiet it: but in case she stand firm in the desire of good, which is most convenient for her, and whereof she hath made choice; honour is alwaies on her side, and to overcome: It sufficeth not to be overcomne, and to dissent from pressing temptations. In conclusion, after many combats and defeats of such nature, she will remain peaceable, the lights of the Imagination shall be abated. The Appetite shall have no force longer to re-

rebel, Reason will raign with resistance, and the man that is arrived to such a state, deserves of naturall right to be preferred before other men: lets pass further. Book I.

The Morall requires not onely Man within himselfe, and engaged in the disorders of the body and spirit of reason and passions; but considers him also in his conversation and in the Crowd. For that end he teacheth him a vertue, which is called Justice, which instructs him to live well with his Neighbour, and inclines him to render unto him what is his due, and which for the present is wholly almost imployed about the division of Riches, and th'introduction, which hath been made in the world, of Mine and Thine. Introduction nevertheless very necessary for the good of society, for the ornament of the civill life, and for the plenty of all such things as are commodious for man. The Legislators and Founders of States, have regulated this justice; and in regard that she appeared to them a little too much in common, and that it seemed to them a very dangerous thing to leave the conduct thereof to every mans judgement and inclination: they have bounded her in certain Laws & customs which they have made: they have established publique persons to distribute it; they have put the sword into their hand to make men affraid of it, and have given it a scabberd with the name of a Prince, and of his Authority, to gain it the more respect.

But insomuch that notwithstanding the great care hath been taken to adjust the Rule, it remaines imperfect, and that the foresight of humane understanding is not so great as the variety of cases which interpose in Traffique; an honest man will not stay there, he will have recourse also for the regulating of his actions, and forming of his life to the fountain of Equity, and to the first spring of Justice, which is the Law of nature, or to walk after a more certain guid, and by a light free from corruption; he will follow the dictates of Religion and motions of Charity, which is the end of Christianity, which is the fulnesse of other Laws, and the definitive measure of all good things. He must have a respect for the formalities of ordinary justice; but he must not believe that they make up the perfection of a Christian, nor of a Philosopher. He must know that the Laws of Conscience extend themselves further then hers; and that they indure a severer and more general obligation; In effect, if conscience onely were in the world, we should be dispensed of many things which we are bound to do, we should have probity good cheap; the duty of an honest man would be very large, and the way that leads to heaven would not be so long and straight as the Bible describes it.

The

The fourth Discourse.

How that saying of the Philosophers is to be understood, that, Who commands ought to be wiser and better then the person that obeyes.

'Tis true then, that the Morall is one of the foundations whereupon the Politique is raised, and ought to prepare them that aspire to the Government of States, and to that direction of the people. From thence is taken that common saying of Philosophers, *That who commands ought to be better then the person that obeyes; and that, The Government of men belongs not to him that is a slave to his passions, nor to govern another unlesse he hath the better sight.* It serves not therefore a Prince to have ordinary intelligence, or a common qualification of manners: But to satisfie his duty, and fill up worthily his charge, it seems that he ought to have a more sublime reason, and disposition of will more perfect then his subjects; This proposition nevertheless is not to be understood literally and in a very rigorous sense. That was good in the founding of States, and in the first liberty which the people had to make choice of their Superiours and Masters. Then it was necessary that the Election should be made of extraordinary persons, whose merit ought to be as high as the dignity to which they are called. But for Soveraign Princes who come by succession, who are born with the Character of a Prince, and are received without choice; they must be taken as God sends them, in wrath, or in the love he hath to his people, which ought to be submitted unto them. But whosoever they are, they cannot alwayes be perfect at th'instant of Raigning, nor have that force of reason, nor temper of manners which the Philosophers require in them that govern; Prudence, and other morall and politique vertues are not born with us, and come not of themselves. They must be gained with meditation and exercise, and by consequence with time and yeares. And though the principles are in our souls, and the seed in our reason, they remain barren till they are cultivated, and, if pains be not taken to preserve them, they are smothered in the seeds of evill which are in our senses, and in the corruption of our nature; The intention then of the Philosophers, is, that the vertues of Princes are of more esteem then the vertues of particular persons, in regard that they have a greater extent of exercise, and a more universall influence; that they are more communicable; that they dart their beams at greater distance; that their bounty attracts more imitation, and that it is not so easie to com-

command, as perfectly to obey; nor to lead as to follow; That if such great qualities are not to be found in their person, if their birth be unhappy, and if the matter whereof they are made cannot receive such divine formes, they ought at least to be in them of their Council, who act with their Princes, in the conduct of Affaires. Book. I.

When the Prince is stupid or depraved in manners; when they are contrary to the function of his charge, and to the dignity he doth exercise; when they move directly, and of their proper motion to the ruine of their subjects; What can be expected from such a Government? if th'infection hath also gained upon the Ministers of State, if they resemble their Master, if they do not counterpoise his vices; And if th'evill be entertained by the multitude of evill persons, such was the Councell of *Jeroboam*, when he called to Councill onely young and debosshed, instead of ancient persons, who had been eye-witnesses of the Government of his Father, and saw that wisdom acted which was infused without the discourse of Reason, and the cares of Experience. This nevertheless is not extraordinary in the world, and it happens but too often that such as approach the Persons of Princes, study not so much to be ministers of their dignities, as instruments of their passions; They are rather their Corrupters then Counsellors; that th'imploy Vice when Vertue is unprofitable to advance them, and that they esteem nothing base or dishoneſt that may satisfie Ambition, or assure their fortune; And though the way they take, lead to precipices, and that there are many fresh and sensible examples of them who have therein ruined themselves; that makes no impression upon their minds: The ill fortune of others concerns them not, and they have so good opinion of themselves, that they imagine to have better conduct, or better fortune to warrant their behaviour. And truly although in a sea so tempestuous, as the Court, and where tempests are frequent; they see also by consequence that shipwracks are ordinary there; the pieces nevertheleſſe of that wrack are so faire, that they seem to them of greater value, then the condition from whence they had been taken, and then the advantages of their birth. 'Tis true, that Corruption sometimes is so extream in the soul of a Prince, and his Manners changed into so profound a debosshery, that Ministers of State are compelled to abate of the severity of vertue in treating with him; They bauk those passions which they could not safely assault in a straight line; They suspend the reproofe of vice, where roots were not to be stocked up; They practise diversions, when the sick person cannot

Book I. endure Remedies, and of two Evills, in one whereof they must undoubtedly fall, they divert him towards the lesser, for fear his inclination should force him to the greater evill; A strange unhappinesse, that to prevent Incests and Adulteries, they must consent to other deboshes lesse criminall and lesse injurious; and to avoid sacriledges, to permit him to act single ruines: *Seneca* and *Burrhus* found themselves reduced to this miserable necessity; & the Philosophy & vertue of those two great persons were constrained so to bend under *Nero*, & to divert with industry the impetuosity of his vices: which by opposition would have been the more enflamed. This conduct nevertheless which ought to be secret, that it may work the better effects, and be stolen from the eyes of the Prince, least it should hurt more then profit, is many times ill interpreted; and the people consider not, that there are soveraign Princes who are not to be handled as men, but governed as Lions, and as furious beasts: and that it is a a great work to restrain their fury, and to hinder them from killing and devouring. Thanks be to God, we are in another condition; we have a king whose qualities to this time have been rather desired then seen: God hath given him to the world to repair the disorders of it; we are bound to him for our safety, and they that have merited in the past actions, were the instruments onely of his fortune, and the imitators of his vertue. Above all, 'tis a mark of heaven's gracious aspect upon this Prince, to have raised for him so generous and so wise persons, so understanding and so faithfull as they of his Councill. But 'tis an evidence also of the excellency of his Judgement, and of the strength of his understanding to have made so good a choice, and to have fixed his particular Election, upon his person who is the Chief and first Intelligence.

Truly, if that be true which *Aristotle* sayes, that he alone hath the pure use of Reason, and by consequence the most perfect vertue, that hath no violent passions; It may be aver'd without flattery, that never person brought to the service of Princes, and to the government of States, greater liberty of the soul, then Sr. the *Cardinall*. His condition exempts him from the strong impressions which blood and nature stampd upon the spirits of his fathers: He is a stranger to all those inclinations, which being rooted in the body, carry away the soul entirely, or divide it betwixt the pleasures of sense, and the operations of the understanding. And as for that villanous appetite of wealth which traverseth so many illustrious persons; which suborns the most usefull servants of Princes; and which hath often blotted the fairest

Lifes:

Lifes: It is farre eſtranged from his humour; 'Tis certain, that if he hath ever leaned to any extremity in the way to vertue, it hath been towards prodigality; and that he found nothing ſo eaſie as to be in danger of poverty for the ſervice of his Maſter: inſomuch that it may be ſaid of him, that he hath a ſoul ſo quiet, that not a Motion ariſeth in it, but what his duty doth ſuggeſt; not an Agitation, but what the love he bears to his King hath occaſioned; and that nothing hath been acted but what Reaſon hath conſented unto, and what Philoſophy hath conveyed into the ſouls of the wiſeſt perſons. Book I.

The fifth Diſcourſe.

That good Miniſters of State have not alwaies the Recompence which they deſerve; and that their Services are often payed with Ingratitude.

THat a Miniſter of State propoſeth to himſelfe to act for the Love of Vertue, and to draw from himſelf the Approbations of Conſcience, as the chiefeſt Recompence for the good he doth; For to hope alwayes, or for the moſt part, Acknowledgement, or Juſtice from the ſouls of Princes, is not to know their humour, and to miſtake their nature. 'Tis to be ignorant that the great ſervices which are done them, are ſo many great Crimes, when they have not wherewithall to requite them: That there are not in the world ſuch dangerous debtors as Princes, when they are inſolvent; that they make away their Creditors when they cannot pay them, for the fear they have that they will pay themſelves with their hands; That they are never confident of the faithfulneſſe of their ſubjects, who have power to hurt them; and that they forgive willingly enough the offences which have been done them, but never pardon the ill which may be done, though there be no will to do it.

There are ſo many Examples of this truth, in Hiſtories and in all Ages, that 'tis almoſt a ſuperfluous thing to make ſtay upon it. But amongſt all, I ſee none comparable to the diſgrace of *Belliſarius*; that great perſon who had no other crime then his Reputation, and was not culpable, but that he was powerfull. Having conquered *Perſia*, and ſubdued *Africa*, humbled the *Goths* in *Italy*, lead Kings in Triumph, and made appeare to *Conſtantinople* ſomewhat of old *Rome*, and an Idea of the ancient ſplendor of that proud Republique: After all that, I ſay, this great perſon is abandoned to Envy. A ſuſpition ill-grounded deſtroyes the value of ſo many Services,

and

Book I. and a single jealousie of State wipes them out of the memory of his Master: but he rests not there, for the demeanor had been too gentle, if cruelty had not been added to ingratitude. They deprive him of all his honours; they rob him of all his fortune: they take from him the use of the Day and Light: they put out his eyes, and reduce him to the company of Rogues; and *Bellisarius* demands a charity. I confesse when I consider the chiefe Captain of his Age, and the greatest Ornament of the Empire, of Christians, after so many Victories & Conquests, accompanied with so high and clear a vertue, and in the midst of *Christendom*, reduced to the height of misery; it seems to me that I read the Metamorphosis of Fables: A desire possesses me to give the lie to History; and I cannot hold from exclaiming against the memory of *Justinian*, that could not suffer the glory of one of his subjects, who had been so usefull to him, and that of a Cabinet person and compiler of Lawes, had made him a Conqueror and Triumpher over people; so that basnesse cost him very dear, and obliged *Narces* who was as well a successour in merit, as authority to *Bellisarius*, not to expose himselfe to the like fortune. This *Narces* upon a single act of disdain, which was past upon him at the Court of the Emperour, conceived that they might passe to a more cruel passion, if he prevented not the ill, and that it was better to shake off the yoak, then to stay to be oppressed. That spoiled th'affairs of *Justinian* in *Italy*: The *Goths* revolted, and Fortune could not forbear to be of the party which *Narces* followed, nor to find the *Barbarians* where so great a Virtue was engaged.

All Princes nevertheless are not of his humour, & there are some whose Raign is more Christian, and Conduct more just; and with whom desert is in safety; where services are acknowledged, and in whom brave Actions beget love, without giving them the least jealousie: However the Raign of our King is an eminent Exception to a proposition [so generall. And if *Machavell* had observed many such in the world, he had not advised them who rise very high by their Virtue to descend timely, and to quit their greatness, or to maintain it by force; He had known that there is yet a medium betwixt two extreams, and the King had made him see that his servants might continue great without making ill use of that greatnesse to become Rebels.

The second Example that I will propose, is the disgrace of *Fernand Gonsalve*; 'Tis not in truth accompanied with so eminent a persecution, nor with such cruell marks of Ingratitude and Injustice, as that of *Bellisarius*: But it hath nevertheless

less circumstances which deserve to be considered, and whereupon a Minister of State ought to pause. It must be confessed that *Gonsalve* is the greatest person that ever *Spain* brought forth. He may passe among the greatest of all Ages: He was worthy to enter the Lists of comparison with great *Scipio*; and the *Spanish* vanity hath not invented so high a Title to honour him withall, which he hath not made good by his Actions, and merited of his Enemies. He finished the conquest of the Kingdom of *Granada*, and had the honour to conclude a War of ten years, and to gain for *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, the Sirname of Catholiques. He chased us from the Kingdom of *Naples* for to re-establish the *Arragons*; And when *Ferdinand* shared with *Lewis* the twelfth, the Goods of his Parents, and that those Princes divided betwixt them the Inheritance of an unfortunate person; He conquered his Master's share and forced ours from us: He defeated our Armies in all places, but at *Seminara* where he did not command; He took all the Towns he assaulted, and which were defended by us: He knew how to overcome, and to make use of the Victory. And though no State in the World was more moveable or subject to Revolutions then that of *Naples*; He assured it notwithstanding entirely to *Ferdinand* and his Race. He stopped up there the Springs of the War, and of Disorders: He pulled up Factions that tore the Nation in pieces; and, if some root had since appeared, it had so little life and force, and such weak and faint motions, that the safety of the Kingdome was not shaken, nor its health altered. Book I.

He did not onely excell in War, and exceed all Captains of his time in the glory of Armes; but he supreamly understood the Art of Negotiations, and the knowledge of Affairs. His Eloquence was admirable; His speech had inevitable charms, and his Tongue furnisht infallibly to gain those whom his good Countenance had shaken, and whose liberty was weakened, and courage abated: Being a Prisoner to a King of *Granada*, He gained him to the service of his Master, and perswaded him to give himselfe up to *Ferdinand*, who would have had much trouble to overcome him; He withdrew the *Colonnes* and the *Ursines* from th'interest of *France*, for to cast them upon th'interest of *Spain*: And knowing well that long and inveterate hatreds as they were of both Families, are fatall to the parties where they enter, and dangerous in the occasions that awaken them. He reconciled the differences, and for a time healed th'Emulation they laboured of. He was moreover so zealous of the Greatnesse of his Master, and so passionate for the good of his Affaires,

Book I. that he quitted his Conscience, and broke his faith to whom he had given it: As in the Treaty he made with the *Duke* of *Calabria*, whereof I shall speak in another place, and when he seized with subtilty upon the person of *Cesar Borgia*, and deceived that subtil person, who had deceived so many other persons.

Th'incomparable qualites then of this person, and infinite services which he had done to his Master, rendred him a suspected person. And though they love treason, yet they hate the Traytors: on the contrary, the Virtue of *Gonsalve* gives Apprehensions and Alarms to *Ferdinand*, for whom it had gained Kingdoms; And the conquests also of *Naples*, and th'entire reduction of that of that State being finished: He began more willingly than he should have done, to lend his Ear to the complaints made against him; And the Calumny became insolent, to assault him when it received credit from his Master. 'Tis impossible that they who have Commissions for great Commands, should give content to all the world: And 'tis hard to give imployments to all such as believe to merit them, or recompences to the esteem that every Person hath of his services, and to the value he sets upon them; and therefore there are alwaies persons that do complain, because some do believe themselves ill used; and who make spight and hatred to succeed at the rate of the good they have been disappointed of: This unhappinesse befell the great Captain; And it happened also that the complaints made against him in *Spain*, were not disagreeable to *Ferdinand*, who sought occasion onely to destroy him, and did not act an Injustice willingly, but when he had some pretence of Justice for to colour it: 'Tis strange, what torments and inquietudes the reputation of *Gonsalve* gave to *Ferdinand* all the rest of his life; The most loyal and best disposed of all his Subjects; He to whom he owed a part of his Greatnesse, who rendred him more formidable to other Princes, then all the rest of his powers, held his soul on a perpetuall wrack: And he never had any Enemy from whom he suffered so much and so long as from him. He was almost perswaded to extream Remedies to be rid of him, and, if he had not apprehended that in missing of his stroak, he gave him occasion to become a Rebell, he had caused him to be arrested upon the single Motions of Jealousie, and had given an instance of the force of the greatest of all humane passions, which is the love of Soveraignty.

This passion which so much vexed *Ferdinand*, is worthy to be represented: and th'Artifices used by the greatest Politician of the world, to ruine his own subject, are too subtill, and

and too curious to be concealed from a person of State; The moderation also of *Gonsalve*, and the strength he had to resist his own Greatnesse which was in his power, and to repel a temptation which had a Kingdom for prize, deserve to be proposed to the subjects of other Princes. Book. I.

The sixth Discourse.

Th' Artifices used by Ferdinand *to destroy the great Captain.*

Ferdinand then upon the bare complaints of discontented persons, whereof the number is ever great against them that govern, lesseneth the power of the great Captain, and reduceth him to the ordinary Authority of Vice-Kings in a Kingdome which he had conquered. How sensible this thing was to a person of great courage, and what *Emotion* it ought to raise in the heart of *Gonsalve*, may be judged by the displeasure all men have to fall, and to be degraded in th'eyes of the world: And it may be judged by the hatred all men naturally bear to ingratitude, but they onely that exercise it; and by th'injustice it contains; that not onely the services that have been rendred, shall be frustrated of the reward which hath been merited, but that they also shall be th'originall of the disgraces suffered, and of th'ill entertainments, because a sufficient Recompence cannot be received. *Gonsalve* notwithstanding subdued his resentments, and appeared much greater in conquering himselfe in so tickliſh an occasion, then he had done in conquering so often th'enemies of his Master.

The patience wherewith he supported this injury, did not sweeten *Ferdinand*, nor cure his sick spirit. On the contrary it made it irreconcilable: He hates him the more whom he had newly offended, because he gave him cause to resent it, and takes the moderation which *Gonsalve* used for an Artifice, because his passion would not suffer him to attribute it to the greatnesse of his Courage: That made him resolve to bring him back from *Naples*, though his presence there was yet very necessary, and to deliver himselfe at once of all his feares, and of all his apprehensions, in removing him from that place where he was so powerfull. He commands him then to return into *Spain*, since th'affaires of *Naples*, as he said, were in good condition, and informes him that he had use in other places of his person, and of his service. The great Captain prepares for his departure, but not with that nimblenesse which *Ferdinand* desired; To whose inquietude precipitation would have appeared slow, since it seemed to him that

Book 1. that he could never be ſoon enough healed of the diſtruſt which did torment him; This ſlowneſs which was for his ſervice, and for the confirming of *Ferdinand's* authority in the Kingdom which *Gonſalve* would not leave tottering, encreaſeth his feares and multiplies his jealouſies.

Th'Enemies of *Gonſalve* cloſe with this humour in *Ferdinand*; Envy again riſeth againſt his Virtue, and there were but too many perſons in *Spain*, and in *Italy*, who cryed down his Faithfulneſſe, and repreſented his Ambition to ſuch a height, that it would not fail ſpeedily to compell him to aſſume the Title of Soveraign, whereof he exerciſed the Power.

That made him again reſolve to ſend *Peter Navarre* to *Naples*, with private Orders to ceaze upon the perſon of the great Captain, and to make a Priſoner of him in the new Caſtle. And at the ſame time to lay him aſleep, and for fear the diſtruſt he had of him, ſhould occaſion the injury he feared, if it were diſcovered; he writes him a Letter, by which he doth promiſe him at his return, the great command of *Saint James*; A dignity, that did not truly equall the ſervices of *Gonſalve*, nor pay the juſt price of his Actions, but was the higheſt in *Spain* next to the Soveraignty. As he was ready to execute this ſcandalous reſolution, a perſon of Credit arrives at Court, from the great Captain, with Letters, which give him ſo great aſſurances of his fidelity, and confirm with ſuch ſtrong Reaſons the juſt cauſe of his ſtay; that *Ferdinand* abated for that time the violence that tranſported him; but at laſt finding no lawfull Cauſes, or very viſible pretences to uſe extream Remedies againſt *Gonſalve*, and being not aſſured of the poſſeſſion of *Naples*, ſo long as *Gonſalve* was in condition to take it from him, he reſolved to go in perſon to draw him away.

He was hardly arrived at *Genes*, but he underſtood of the death of his Son in law, with whom he had ſo many troubles, and who had handled him with ſo much indignity. Reaſon ſeemed to adviſe him to go back, and to retake the poſſeſſion of the Government of *Caſtile*, before any change might happen there, that th'ill humours of that State were raiſed, and that th'ill had taken root there by his abſence. That was repreſented to him by his Councill, and by his ſervants which he had left in *Spain*. But *Naples* muſt be provided for, ſince he was ſo near; He muſt pull the Thorn out of his heart which pricked him; And although he would not expoſe his perſon thither, when we were powerful there, when we conteſted the Kingdom with him, and that fortune then held in the Air the two ſcales of the Ballance

where

where Victory hung uncertain; He made no question to go thither to destroy the power of a person that was most faithful to him. The prudence and dexterity of *Ferdinand*, made a wonderfull noyse on this occasion which was heard in all places, and whereon all Christendom was attentive. At his Arrival he made extraordinary Caresses to *Gonsalve*: He gave him honours that would have satisfied the most ambitious spirit of the world. He had no sufficient praises to extoll his vertue, nor power enough to requite his services. In brief, one might have said, that he would give him a share of his Authority, and of his subject & make him his Companion. Book I.

In the mean time this great Captain is solicited from divers places, to take more advantageous Conditions then he had from his Master. The Pope with whom *Ferdinand* had founded intelligencies to make War against the *Venetians*, desires him for the Generall of the Churches Armies.

The Common-wealth of *Venice* offers him the Command of their Armies; The Emperour endeavours to gain him for his service; every person thought that Victory could not be severed from him, and his reputation dispatched above th'halfe of Affairs; His virtue truly was too fair not be tempted; But it had force enough to repell Temptation, and to resist the Baits wherewith Endeavours were used to corrupt it; He had given infallible Evidences thereof to *Ferdinand* during the persecution of *Castile*: And when almost all the Grandees of *Spain* had declared themselves in favour of his Son in law, and adored that new Power; *Gonsalve* stood firm, and assured him that what change soever hapned to him in his fortune, none should ever befall him in his affections; This was truly admirable in an occasion, where he had so many examples of failing, and, it may be, some Cause to do it during *Philips* life. Moreover being so able a person, and having long acted by th'orders of *Ferdinand*; It was not possible that he should be a stranger to his diffident Humour, and to his Covetous Inclination; and therefore ought to believe, that his services would pass un-equited, and that the passion whereof his Master laboured against him, would not be appeased but by his Fall and Ruine. However, *Ferdinand*, to defeat th'intentions of the Pope, and to make void all solicitations that were made to *Gonsalve*; endeavoured to perswade him, that he had all the good opinion of the world of his fidelity; gives him a Patent of the great Master-ship of *Saint James*, which was passionately desired by *Gonsalve*, and prayed the Pope to grant the Archbishop of *Toledo* power to confer it upon him; He well knew that the Pope would re-

Book I. sist it, and be troubled that *Gonsalve* should receive that dignity from any hand but from His, and that so whilst Endeavours were used to overcome that difficulty and pass that Ditch; he should be in *Spain*, and out of Danger to be debosshed; He grants him after that an Authentick Declaration of the great services he had received from him; as of the esteem he had for his merits, and for the inviolable zeal he had had for his Affairs. He sends this Declaration to the Courts of all Princes of Christendom, to efface, said He, th'Impressions that might have been made against the faithfulnesse of this great Captain; and that no spot might remain upon the honour of so great a person. He draws him from *Italy*, and brings him with him, by these eminent Artifices and Pompous Demonstrations of his good Affections. The interview made at *Savona* with *Lewis* the twelfth, enflamed his jealousie, and rendred the Virtue of *Gonsalve* the more suspected, because he saw it so much honoured by him, to whom he had done so much Evill, and from whom he had taken a Kingdom; For *Lewis* obtained of *Ferdinand*, that *Gonsalve* might dine in their company, an extraordinary favour, especially for a subject of *Spain* with his *Soveraign*.

At last he is conducted into *Spain*, where all the hopes which had been given him, and the magnificent promises wherewith he had been fed, are reduced to the Condition of a private person, in which Condition he is permitted nothing more then onely to live. They labour to discredit him, They use him ill in relation to his Parents: All his desires are refused, though very Civill and Just: And notwithstanding this stripped person is *Ferdinand's* Flayl, and a virtue destitute of all the helps of fortune, troubles his spirit, and puts him into great paines. But as Princes feel not passions as other persons do, and take or leave them according to their Interest; The prosperity of *Lewis* the twelfth's Armes in *Italy*, under the Command of *Gaston* of *Foix*, and the disgraces of th'Army, of the League whereof *Ferdinand* was a member, enforced him to cast his eyes upon *Gonsalve* to send him thither.

This great Captain prepares for this Expedition; *Spain* dis-furnisheth her selfe of brave persons for to follow him there; and the greatest part of great persons, notwithstanding the fiercenesse of their humour, and good opinion of themselves, resolved to accompany him thither. This struck *Ferdinand* more then can be imagined; And the greatnesse of *Gonsalve* that became higher then ever; and th'ill condition of th'affairs of *Italy* which could not be recovered but by his virtue, trouble him with irresolutions. But fortune that had

had been so often favourable unto him, forgot him not in this occasion; she would not give men the pleasure to see the two chief planets of the world in Conjunction, and durst not decide a difference where parties were so equall. *Gaston* is slain at the Battel of *Ravenna*; by his death *Italy* changed her face, our affaires began then to decline; There was no further need of *Gonsalve*, and *Ferdinand* was delivered of the feares which had so strongly vexed him, and so long pursued him. The great Captain after that continued intirely estranged from Court, and from affairs, and a very little after quitted the world, where his virtue was become unprofitable, because it was too great, and where he had lost the good graces of his Master for having overmuch merited them. Book. I.

The seventh Discourse.

Of the disgrace of the Duke of Alva.

Since we are upon the subject of Disgraces which happen at Court, and tempests which are there raised; Let us add the *Duke* of *Alva's* to the former examples. He was one of the greatest Captains *Spain* hath brought forth, since the death of *Gonsalve*; He performed threescore years services to *Charles* the fifth, and to *Philip* his Son, and with so strange a misfortune, that he was ever odious to th'one, and never beloved of th'other: He made War almost in all the parts of *Europe*, and in *Africa*; he had the Command of the *Germane* Army, where the first League of Protestants was beaten, and one of their Commanders taken Prisoner: He preserved the Kingdom of *Naples* to *Philip*: He staid the progress we made into *Piedmont*; He suppressed the growing Rebellion in the Low Countries; and though his conduct was too violent, and that the severity of his deportment, and too great Inclination for blood, had forced the people into dispair; yet if he had not been recalled, when he was of most use there, 'Tis believed, that he had finished the reducement of them, or hindered them from growing greater.

And nevertheless after so long Course of services, and so many years spent for his Masters; *Philip* forbids him the Court for a light fault; for an inconsiderable Cause which carried onely the shadow of disobedience: His Country-house he assigns him for his Prison, and neither his services past, nor his Age which was worthy of some respect, nor the good wishes of all the people of *Spain*, nor th'entreaties of the *Pope* who interceded for him, could bend *Philip*, or prevail with him for his Liberty. But at last the businesse of the

Book I. succession of *Portugal* happning, and *Philip* having need of a Commander of Reputation to manage the War which he had there prepared, It was of Necessity to repair to the *Duke* of *Alva*. He accepted the Command with an incredible Gentleness, and without obtaining so much as the permission to see the Court: And he was to raise the Regiments of Foot, as He said, from Towns to conquer Kingdoms. The success of that War was such as *Philip* could desire it. But the Conclusion was glorious for the *Duke*, since he dyed after the reduction of *Portugal*, and in the Palace of *Lisbon*, where he had given Entry to his Master.

I do not truly find it strange that so many Princes are unthankful, because it may be they think all to be due to them, and that they are not indebted to any person. But I cannot but admire the faithfulnesse of those great persons of whom I have lately spoken, and that Generall obedience they have given to their Masters, even then when they were so ill used; This is the Cause that I will adde another example to the former, and of a person of the number of the most famous of the Age past.

Albuquerque subdued *Ormus*, took *Goa*, and settled th' Empire of the *Portugals* in the *East-Indies*. He caused the power of his Masters to be adored, where their name was not so much as known before his time. His Conquests enriched *Portugal*, and the precious Jewels which the Sun-rising engenders in th' East, past in abundance, since his voyages, through all *Europe*. After all these services, and in his great Age, *Manuel*, King, of *Portugal*, sends him a successor, and he had the displeasure to see himself stript of an honour he had not received, and of a Dignity he held not of the bounty of him which took it from him, but from his personall valour. The news truly of that Affront which was the recompence of his long and profitable services, troubled him much at the first--- And, making a great disturbance in his soul, forced him to say these words: *Good God, of how many Evills do I find my selfe encompassed! If I am faithful to my King, I offend men; and I offend my King, if I follow the Inclinations of men.* But this violent passion being appeased, and that his reason was returned, he justified the proceedings of *Manuel*, and reduced willingly to the condition of a private person; If Death, which sometimes happens too late to many great persons, had not ceazed on him, before he arrived at *Goa* from *Ormus*.

You may believe that *Albuquerque* was solicited by his friends, to possess himselfe of that State, and to establish himselfe in a place where he was powerful, and where he had

in

in his favour the love of the people; 'Tis therefore the Cuſtome of Princes, not to permit long the Government of a Country to him that hath ſubdued it, for fear leſt in time he take root there, and that the ſweetneſſe of the Command, and the Conveniency of making himſelfe Maſter, ſhould cauſe in him the Deſire of it. So *Ferdinand* of *Caſtile*, left not the Government of the *Weſt-Indies* to *Chriſtopher Columbe*, who had made the diſcovery of them. So the ſame *Prince* withdrew that great Captain from *Naples*, as hath been above expreſſed. So *Fernant* of *Cortes* was recalled from the Kingdom of *Mexico*, which he had gained for *Charles* the fifth; So the *Peru* was filled with Combuſtion and Wars, becauſe the *Pizarres* who had made the Conqueſt, would not acknowledge the Governour which *Philip* the ſecond had ſent thither; nor obey in the place where they had accuſtomed to command. Book. I.

The Eighth Diſcourſe.

That in th'affaires of State, men do that ſometimes which they would not do, and that there are inevitable Faults.

THat a Miniſter of State then ſuffer not himſelfe to be tranſported with his charge, nor be drunk with the fume of it; That it be alwayes in him under jealouſie: And conſider that 'tis of the nature of Glaſs, and not of the Diamond; and that if it have ſome Clearneſs, yet 'tis frail. And that he may the better comprehend this truth, and make uſe of th'inſtruction it bears; he muſt know, that he is to defend himſelfe not onely from men, and the deſigns of Envy; But that he muſt alſo depend upon ſome ſuperiour power, that will make him when it pleaſeth to forſake his prudence, and compell him to act againſt his proper Maxims; that will carry him whither he would not go, and will ſo Invert his underſtanding, that he cannot but commit voluntary faults, nor to enter the precipice which he ſhall ſee open in the midſt of his way; That, if in the war of the Body and Underſtanding, and in the ſeditious Motions, from the worſe part of the ſoul, we do commit often the Evill which we would not do: The Condition of the perſon of State is much worſe, and that of the proud Directors of the people, who are ſometimes conſtrained to doe the Evil they would not do, if they were Maſters of affairs, and if th'impetuoſity of Deſtiny, and violence of ſome Cauſe ſtronger than them, did not over-rule them: And nevertheleſs the world fails not to blame them: Princes are angry

Book I. gainſt unfortunate, as againſt guilty perſons: Particular men that diſcover ſometimes in their private affaires ſomewhat like this, do not forgive for all that the Condition of publique perſons: And the pittifull Boatmen, who can hardly ſave themſelves upon a ſmall River, when it is but a little moved, condemn the great Pilots when they ſuffer ſhipwrack in the Ocean, and cannot reſiſt the fury of an implacable Element. Behold very eminent Examples to Confirm the truth of what hath been ſaid.

In the league made between the *Venetians* and *Charles* the fifth, againſt *Soliman*, a memorable accident happened. The *Venetians* were fully reſolved not to break with *Soliman*, and to avoid a War wherein they were to receive the firſt ſtroaks, and furniſh the Field with th'action that was preparing, (and the theater with the Tragedy; They remembred, that they never had to do with the houſe of the *Ottomans* without loſſe, and that they never juſtled with them but to their ruine: They would not forſake th'Alliance of a Prince whoſe faith was known to them, in whom ambition permitted Juſtice, and was accuſtomed to diſtinguiſh between what's honeſt, and what is onely profitable; They would not deprive themſelves of the great advantages which they drew from thoſe States, nor cut the pipe of Riches, and the root of Abundance, which came to their ſubjects from thence; They were not ignorant of the Nature of Leagues and their weakneſs; They knew that good-deeds penetrate leſſe then injuries, and that the deſire of Revenge is more active and violent in them that are provoked, then Acknowledgement in them who are aſſiſted. They conſider that a wiſe Prince ought not to engage, but on extremity in th'affaires that have nothing certain but the expence, whereof the future is alwaies trouble, and whoſe concluſion is not neceſſarily conformable to Principles, and to the firſt Appearance.

Upon theſe foundations or others, they reſiſted th'endeavours of *Paul* the third, who ſolicited them to enter into that League, and not to abandon the common Cauſe of Chriſtians; *Soliman* alſo on his part deſired to continue fair with the Republique of *Venice*: He was afraid to have ſo many enemies together in Hand, and how great ſoever their ambition was, the virtue and the power of *Charles* did not ſeem ſo inconſiderable unto him, but that he judged them Capable alone to exerciſe him; But as fortune often deceives the deſires of men, and laughs at their wiſdom, it diſappointed in this occaſion, as well th'inclination of *Soliman*, as that of the *Venetians*. The encounter of ſome of their Ships,

and

and of unexpected Accidents which happened, obliged them to fight, and engaged them alſo in ſpight of them to a total Breach; And the *Venetians* were conſtrained to accept of the League, which they had ſo ſolemnly refuſed; By this truly it appears, that the *Venetians* could not avoid with all their Conduct, th'evill they had foreſeen; And that he alſo from whom they were to receive their damage, could not be prevented from doing of it, though he had a deſign to be their friend. For it happened that the Gallies of th'Emperour having not done their duty at *Preveſe*, and *André Dona* having betrayed the Chriſtian Republique, and ſuffered *Barbaroſſe* to eſcape when he might have ſunk him; The tempeſt that riſ' in the States of *Charles*, fell upon them of the Republique; and *Soliman*, offended that the Republique, as he thought, had diſdained his friendſhip, or had not ſufficiently reſpected it, turned his Forces and Deſigns againſt their Ilands, beſieged *Corfu*, and was within little of taking the Bulwarks that defend Chriſtendom; He took beſides that, all that they had in the Archipelagus except *Naples* of *Romaigna* and *Malvoiſea*, which he forced from them ſince, by a Treaty of peace; after the loſſes they had ſuffered, after th'Expence they had made, and after a great diminution of former Reputation. Book I.

Behold other Examples, to ſhew that there are faults which ſeem fatall. In the firſt troubles of Hereſie in *France*, and in that Tragique Confuſion, the memory whereof hath ſince been often repeated; All the world obſerved, that the ſiege of *Poictiers* had been the Stone of offence to the *Huguenots*, and that the faireſt Army they ever had periſhed, there. The *Cardinall* of *Lorraine* reproached it to *Sr.* of the *Nowe*; and though faults are cuſtomary in the war, more then in any other function of life; He aſſured him that they who commanded th'Armies of the King, would prevent committing of the like; yet notwithſtanding after the Battel of *Moncontour*, which poured out ſo much *Hugenots* blood, and where that party received ſuch large wounds, that it depended only on the Conqueror, that the ſoul was not let out; Inſtead of following the flight of th'Army which was routed, and them that ſaved themſelves from the ſtorm; The *Duke* of *Anjou*, unhappily diſſipated his Army by lying down before *Saint John*. He ſtormed that Town, and loſt the fruit of his Victory, which ought not to have been taken of a ſingle place, but the Reducement of the whole party; not the remiſſion of the Malady, but the health of the State. By this fatall ſtay, I ſay, he failed to make an end of the work that was ſo well begun: He gave meanes to th'Enemies to breathe

Book I. breathe and recruit: He rendred again the fortune of *France* doubtfull, and deprived it of the honour of terminating a War which is never ended by weakneſſe, but inability; nor by Reconciliation, but by the Ruine of the Conquered.

The Ninth Diſcourſe.

Where the precedent Diſcourſe is confirmed by the Example of the Spaniards.

I Will confirm the former Diſcourſe by a newer Example, and from the moſt prudent Nation of the world. The *Spaniards* who have their Reaſon ſo ſubtil, and Motions ſo regular; who make no Conſultations, but they obſerve all the differences of the time, and have alwaies in their thoughts the future and the paſt, when they deliberate onely of the things in hand, or that are not farre from their eyes. Theſe prudent, I ſay, and Circumſpect perſons, are not free from errours; They commit faults like other men, they go out of the way as well as we, and more is not to be ſaid, then that it ſeems their failings are either voluntary or more inavoidable then ours; And as we fall ordinarily as it were by night and in unknown wayes, They fall at full noon, and in the midſt of a high way. And as other people have reproached us, that we are capable to Conquer all, and to carry by aſſault what makes reſiſtance; But that we are not able long to preſerve that heat, nor to maintain our Conqueſts: The ſame may be ſaid of the *Spaniards*, that their deſigns have ſometimes good beginnings, which attain not alwaies their Ends becauſe they are Immoderate; That they begin well, but finiſh not alwaies the work they undertake, becauſe they withdraw themſelves to other work; that they make not an end of all things they undertake, in regard that they undertake too much at a time, that they Graſp more then they know how to hold and devour, more then they can digeſt.

'Tis not for want of patience, but for their too great Ambition; nor, that they forſake the Labour for being a weary and to reſt themſelves, but they ſuſpend it, or ſlack it in one place to attend it in another, where they think to proſper better: And as the Covetous perſon hath no ſooner the deſire in his heart of being rich, but he deſires ſuddenly to become rich; The like is the condition of the ambitious perſon, there are no degrees for the growth of paſſion, 'tis great as ſoon as 'tis born, and he hath th'unhappineſſe, that his Imagination knows not how to bound the Conqueſts which

it

it meditates upon, nor lengthen the time, must necessarily be imployed to act them. This hath happened to the *Spaniards*; It may be said, that they have found their enterprises more difficult then they were represented unto them, in having too great an opinion of their own virtue, or too little of other mens virtues. Lets come to the proof of this truth wherewith they have furnished us, and whereof they have given us cause to beware. Book I.

They observed that th'Enterprise upon *England*, and preparation for that Fleet which they called *Invincible*, broke the course of the Victories of the *Duke* of *Parma*; that it drayned *Spain* of Money and Men, and hindred that Prince from receiving necessary recruits to continue the War. They also acknowledged, that the journies he made into *France*, to relieve the League, had unfurnished the two Countries of their best Souldiers, and left those fair Provinces for a prey to their Enemies which had been so long their *Indyes*, and since have been so long their Poverty and Church-yard.

We may indeed say here, by the way, and then we will return to our subject; That *Philip* the second did not a little forget himselfe in these occasions, and that his Conduct was then too wise, or not wise enough. That it was not truly ill argued for the subduing of the *Hollande*; first to ceaze on *France*, and Conquer *England*; to cut off at once th'Armes that supported them, and force away the Dugs which fed the Rebellion of that people. But also, that it was too vast a Design for a *Prince* so decayed, and a way too long and too dangerous for a person of so small strength, and short breath; That if he was transported by the zeal of th'house of God, and could not suffer Religion to perish in the first Kingdom of the world: If he was concerned in th'ill of *France*; and if he so vehemently loved the Church, that he could not permit so faire a member to be separated from her; It must be confessed, that his zeal had been commendable, if it had been more prudent. But he should have remembred that true Charity excludes not Justice; that it perverts not th'order of things; that it disorders not the duty of life; and that it hath as much light as heat, and of moderation as force: And therfore that it had been better to withdraw the people from Heresie which God submitted to him, and from rebellion wherein they were involved, then to ingage in th'affaires of his Neighbours, whereof he was not to give an Accompt, and that he was more obliged to labour the Cure of his sick subjects, then the lesser diseases of strangers. But lets speak the truth, It troubled *Philip* much to lose so fair an occasion as that which then presented it selfe, to gain by our disor-

Book I. ders; And he well saw that after the *French* were divided into Factions, and that the Children had torn in pieces their Mother; it would be easie for him to recollect the scattered members and the pieces of th'Inheritance. That if he lost this Conjuncture, he might after in vain desire it; that the madmen might return to their senses, and that they had been corrupted by Charmes and Drenches; That they being cured might change their love into hatred, and be animated against them who had put them into that Condition.

Though the *Spaniards* made the forementioned reflections, they failed not to strike upon the same sands, and to repeat their faults. Th'Emperour had incredible success in *Germany*; His Conquests forced in upon him like a Torrent; God sent him Victories like those of the Children of *Israel*, when they marched under the Conduct of *Moses* and *Joshua*, and it was no more a *Cæsar* by name, and the vain Imagination of what he ought to be, but he had the power and the majesty. His Authority gave reputation to the *Spaniards*. His Armies rendred them more fearfull than they were, and they saw their desires crowned with the taking of *Breda*, which *Spinola* boasted to have taken in spight of four Kings, and th'ayds of divers Nations in League: After that nothing was thought impossible for them. And notwithstanding in stead of pursuing the great progress which they had made in the Low-Countries, and to follow their Fortune which marched before them; They provoked troubles in *Italy*, and sharpned the spirits of divers Princes, in possessing themselves of the *Valtoline*. The usurpation of that passage gave occasion to make a league for to make it free, and the War was carryed into *Piedmont*, whither they conveyed great forces, which served onely to make th'affront more eminent, which they received before *Verrue*, and to augment the shame of that retreat.

But they fell not alone into the precipices: They drew in the Emperour, whose name they made use of to vex *Monsieur* of *Mantoue*. To put I say, a poor Catholique Prince into his shirt who reverenced him; they compelled him to agree with the King of *Denmark*, and to make a dishonourable peace with the Protestant Enemy. They constrained him to take the Law of the Conquered; to restore him his Losses, and to let loose the Chain which pressed all *Germany*. There's apparance, that if he had continued the designs he had in that Country, and those in *Flanders*; They had compleated His Happiness: At least they had avoided the disgraces which happened unto them; they had given no scandall to *Christendom*. *Boldne* had been preserved, and so Catho-

Catholique a City had not entertained Hereſie within its walls, nor lamented the loſſe of th'ancient Religion. But in this they had not onely men for Enemies, but God ſeemed to declare, and to make War againſt them; And as he ſuffered heretofore the *Philiſtins* to take th'*Ark* of the Covenant, and with it the fortune of th'houſe of *Iſrael*; He hath alſo permitted that the wealth of the new world ſhould paſs into other hands then theirs: That their Fleet ſhould be beaten, and that Heretiques whom they name Rebels, made uſe of the treaſures againſt them, which were deſtined for th'oppreſſion of a Prince whom they took for their Enemy, in regard that he was not their ſubject, or ought not to be their Neighbour without depending on them. Yet, praiſed be God, we have been wiſer: for what the King had undertaken, his Conſtancy was never tyred, and He Acted not by halfs, nor laboured without Effect; no irregular paſſion could make diverſion upon his deſignes: He finiſhed all of them: He hath diſſipated all th'ill humours of the State; He hath confounded the Rebellion of his ſubjects, and our Allies have ſeen all the powers of *France* diſplayed, and all the vertue of the *French*, to maſter their ill fortune, and draw them from the bottom of the pit. In that miraculous paſſage over the *Alpes*, when *Italy* ſaw her deliverer to deſcend; and that *Milan* durſt take ſome free breath; and *Naples* think of a gentler Domination, who would not have believed that the King would have purſued his Victory, and taken in *Italy* a Revenge of the loſſes of his Anceſtors? And nevertheleſſe by a Councell that was underſtood a few perſons, and by an extraordinary prudence, he quitted the deceitfull appearance of good; He retired from *Italy*, and contented himſelfe for that time to ſtench the blood of it, and bind up the wound, for to finiſh in Langnedock the Cure of an Evill that was in its Criſis, and which a greater ſtay might have made incureable; But of that we will make, God aiding, hereafter a diſcourſe apart,

Book. I.

The Tenth Diſcourſe.

That Princes do approve but of the Services they Command, and puniſh oftentimes them that are done againſt their Orders.

LEt a Miniſter of State know that he doth alwaies ill, when he acts againſt th'orders are given him: That in the State, good intentions are not warrantable if th'effects are not agreeable to the *Prince*: That the works of ſupererogation are not current there, and that the ſervices that are ren-

Book I. rendred, if they are not commanded, are things put to hazard, which are exposed to the capricious humour of a person interressed, and shall sometimes be condemned by him, who would be sorry if they were not done, who drawes profit from them, and hereby accommodates his affairs; so true it is, that reason of State is a strange thing, and that the Condition of men, and chiefly of publique persons is unhappy; Th'Examples will declare better then the discourse which is to be observed in this matter.

The *Carthaginians* punished with death the Captains that had gained a battel without advice, and against the rules of War; nothing is read answerable to the jealousie the first *Romans* had for Command. They could not give a good countenance to the successes which were obtained with disobedience. And there were Fathers, who would not give life to their Children, that were victorious in Combats that had been forbidden them. At the siege of *Cambrey*, or of *Dourlans*, the Count *Fuentes* caused the head of a master of the Camp to be cut off, who in an assault advanced further then he was commanded, and took a post of very great Importance. And though the profits of these happy faults, and of these blind successes, remain to the Prince and Country; 'Tis certain, there's cause for their punishment to hinder th'imitation which is often dangerous; And for th'Evill is in it, that the Judgement of a superiour should be sleighted by a particular person, and his Authority violated: Amongst us, these Attempts are praised when they prosper, and they are not punished when they are unfortunate. But it is a condition inseparable from our humour, and an effect of that blindnesse which possesseth almost all *France*, To neglect prudence and Order, and to have an esteem onely for Impetuosities, and to Idolize nothing but Courage.

Observe an Example very remarkable in our time, and a fault of another nature, then the prudence and love of the Country would have advised, and the *Prince* to whom it was of Advantage, judged it worthy of punishment. At the peace which was made 1617. by the Mediation of the King, betwixt the Republique of *Venice*, and the *Arch-Duke Ferdinand*, who is now Emperour; The King of *Spain*, and the *Duke* of *Savoy*. The Republique of *Venice* employed *Octavian Buon* as their extraordinary Embassador, a Gentleman of great opinion among the *Citizens*, to manage that affair with the *Gussony*, their ordinary Embassadour near the King. The Instruments given to their Embassadours, commanded them not to consent to any Treaty of peace, but on condition the *Galleres* which had been taken from the *Venetians* at *Spalatro*,

by

by the *Duke* of *Offone* should be restored, and that that blot was taken out from th'honour of the Republique: They had also Orders, though not so formall and expres, to oppose th'union that was in forming between the two Crowns, to give joyntly the Law to *Italy*, and to the rest of *Europe*. Book I.

Nevertheless the *Spaniards*, who sayl with all winds, and raise profit out of all occasions, put a great value upon th'Evidences of Esteem and Affection, they made out to the King, in submitting to him so great differences, and exposing of their affairs to the judgement of his Agents. But to sell this honour to him at a very dear rate, they pressed th'union whereof I have spoken; Union which they had long in their thoughts, and had sought since *France* was delivered of the *Spanish* Invasions, and had secured her selfe of their Ambushes; Union to which they aimed with the same heat they did at the Monarchy, since it was to be the Bridge to passe them safely, and the necessary principle for the ruine of other Christian States, and losse of their liberties.

Bentivoglio Nonce, and now a Cardinall and Protector of *France*, joyned his good endeavours to those of the *Spanish* Embassadour, in favour of that so much desired Union and fatall Intelligence.

However if that design fail, they would have peace, not being able any longer to make War: That *Gradisque* which the *Venetians* besieged, was upon its last breath; That the *Duke* of *Savoy* swollen with the relicfe was come to him from *France* was powerfull, and *Don Petro* of *Toledo* weak; and his Army shattered since the siege of *Vertel*. They would have, I say, peace, but after their manner, and upon a vain shadow of honour which they believed to have done us, and upon a light smoak of difference wherewith they thought to have intoxicated us: They would exempt themselves from Evils which hung over their heads; they would have it nevertheless with vapouring and reputation; as if fortune had been propitious to them; They would have no mention made of it in the Treaty of the restitution of the Ships of the Republique, and that the Ships should remain with them as Trophies of a Victory, and as marks of Triumph: They promise to deliver them to the King's Officers, as a great Bounty which should be exercised for love of them, and to oblige *France*; They would not also that any expresse or particular mention should be made of *Vertel*; In regard, it was more convenient, say they, for the greatnesse and dignity of their Crown, to deliver up that place without Constraint, as they promised to do, than by a Treaty of Accommodation;

Book I. modation; Our Agents induced by Causes, which were then, it may be, lawfull, and which would not be indured in the generosity of the present Government, engage th'Ambassadors of the Republique between two extreams; They press them to sign the peace upon the foresaid Conditions, or threaten them with th'union which would have been so prenicious to *Italy*. A strange and hard necessity to which they were reduced; They desire time to informe the Senate, and to receive thereupon their pleasure. 'Tis refused, and three dayes only are given them to resolve; of the two Evils whereof Election was to be made, they chose the lesse, and accept of a shameful peace; and, contrary to their instructions, to avoid an inconveniency which contained an Evill, they had order to fly, and th'other Evills they had cause to fear, which were comprehended in th'union: They offend but for the good of the Republique: They expose their heads, but for the good of their Country: They would perish if their ruine might serve their Country. The *Senate* advised of what their Ambassadours had done: Condemn their proceedings, and resolve to make them examples of their Temerity: All their reasons though necessary are rejected, And if the King had not interposed his authority for the safety of the poor men, they had run the hazard of being exposed to that Justice of State which attributes so much to Conformity, that it makes no distinction betwixt the unhappy and the guilty, and that seeks ordinarily th'advancement of the publique good in the ruine of particular persons. Certainly it was to the advantage of the Republique, to embrace that peace, as it did, and to take it as a medicine, to cure it selfe of a greater Evill that threatned it. The Republique had reason also to seem willing to preserve her Dignity, and for th'interest of the right of Nations, to punish her Embassadours that dared to be wiser then the Republique, and procure her good against her Prohibition.

These are onely gentle Notions, and 'tis a Conduct that ought not to hurt a Minister of State, when he is desavored of things treated upon by his own propensities, and a Prince may sometimes lawfully make use of the advantages which befall him upon a Treaty he disavoweth, without being obliged to repair the fault which another Prince hath committed by his facility and sottishness. And it would not be thought strange, since that as well in the Commerce of Princes as of particular persons, the fortune of wise men is ordinarily made at th'expence of fools, & the good success that happens, proceeds more from the Defects, and imprudence of them with whom they have to do, then from th'in-

dustry

dustry and virtue of them that obtain it. Behold an Example which happened under *Lewis* the twelfth, which will make clear what hath been said. It was in a season when almost all Christendom conspired against us, and when the Assauls of almost all our Neighbours were at one Time to be resisted; The most dreadfull Nation of that time was without doubt, that of the *Suisses*, and the greatest Enemy to this Crown. They entred into *Burgundy* with the body of an Army, and in great Numbers; They begin suddenly to make desolate that Province: They made dayly progress, and made no question of starving *Paris*, and to force Victory to its very Gates. The King sends *Tremoville* to allay this Tempest, and stop this impetuous inundation; He makes haste, and as he was a great person for war and business, he managed the spirit of the people with so much dexterity, that he sends them home to their Country loaden with some spoils, and promises he made them, and hopes he had given them. Th'Artifice was profitable to *France*, the storm that threatned it was diverted, and the stroak we could not have put back by violence, was avoided by cunning. But nevertheless the King did not think himselfe obliged to performe what *Tremoville* had promised without his Order, nor to be warrant for th'imprudency of the *Suisses*, who abandoned their present Advantages, and them that the future did infallibly promise them, for uncertain promises and vain Hopes.

When I consider the noyse which the *Suisses* made for the breach of that Treaty, and how odious and new that Artifice was unto them: when I consider th'Art of deceiving, which since hath been introduced, and which shews it selfe impudently in th'affairs of Princes: when I consider also the legality used by *Lewis* the twelfth, in th'observation of the League at *Cambray*, in making Conquests for Princes that were not friends to *France*, and in putting them into their hands, and the maintaining of them unto them; I say unto my selfe, that the time is very unfortunate, where the vices of our Ancestors are become our virtues; where in stead of gaining knowledge, an Expedient is found to corrupt the Manners of men with reason; and where, in stead of studying to reconcile Virtue with Interest, and with personall love, men have so shamefully falsified and disquieted in such sort the Resentments of Good and Evill, That if Religion had not forbid us to believe it, we should be of *Aristotles* judgement, who doubts in some places; whether Virtues are good by nature, or by the opinion and consent of men.

It must not be forgot that there are Princes who would that

Book 1. that their Miniſters of State ſhould ſometimes be cruell and forſworn, provided that it were done without their knowledge and order, They love not malice, but ſeek the profit that may thence ariſe, and are of the humour of *Pompeye's* Son, who was ſo worthy a ſucceſſor of the virtue of ſo great a Father, and conteſted with *Anthony* and *Auguſtus* th'Empire of the world. This *Pompey* entertaining *Anthony* and *Auguſtus* in his *Galley*; the Captain which commanded it, demanded leave of him to weigh th'Anchor, and to carry away his Gueſts, and to make Priſoners of his Rivalls; He anſwered him, that he ought to have done it without telling him of it, and ſhould have made him great without making him forſworn. Certainly an honeſt perſon will never be of the mind of this Captain. He will ſerve his maſter with his Eſtate and Goods, but not with his Honour and Conſcience.

The Eleventh Diſcourſe.

That a Miniſter of State ought to regulate his Demeanour by the intereſt of the State, and of his Prince; Provided that he offend not Juſtice.

THat a Miniſter of State is to conceive, that the ſoul of his behaviour, and the firſt manner of his Actions, ought to be the good of the State, and intereſt of his Prince, that he hath no other Law to follow, nor other way to take, and that he muſt never go aſide; provided that Juſtice be not offended, which is an inviolable rule, and admits of no Exception nor Contradiction.

Particular perſons may part with their Rights in many things, and make voluntary loſſes to act generous Actions; In that they exerciſe onely what belongs to them, they loſe nothing but whereof they are Maſters and Proprietaries, and the Damage they ſuffer is ſufficiently requited by the glory of the good they do; But Princes, (and this the more ſtrongly concerns the Miniſters of State) inſtead of being generous in forſaking th'intereſt of their Countries become imprudent; and they are unjuſt if they proſtitute what is not theirs, and which hath been put into their hands as a ſacred Depoſite, by the people who have ſtripped themſelves of it. And ſince their firſt obligation is to prevent their unhappineſſe, who have delivered up their Liberties unto them, and have put themſelves under their power: 'Tis certain, that they offend their Dignity, and ſin againſt what they are, who ſuffer the loſs of any Right of State, or of the diminu-

tion

tion of any member; and that the subjects may oppose it with Justice, and dissent without Felony; According to this Rule which is well grounded, the States of *France* had reason to hinder th'Alienation of *Burgundy*, and the Assignment of that Province, which *Francis* the first had promised for the price of his Liberty: And th'Emperour was to blame to refuse money in lieu of it, and to require of *Francis*, that being unable in that case to perform the Conditions of the Treaty, or overcome the resistance of his subjects; He ought to return to prison, which was, said he, the least he could do: since in all Rigour that Obligation had no force, but in the not-observance of what wholly depended upon him, and was promised fraudulently, and with intention to break promise. That, if it be permitted to a particular person, to get out of prison when he finds the door open; If it be not forbidden to a person in Chaines, to force his fetters, and to quit his misery; If some impressions of the priviledges of nature to the person escaped, may be found in the right of Nations; why should it not be commendable in a great Prince, to make use of it? Why should it be forbidden him to preserve the good gained upon a faithfull account, in repairing, by what is in his power, what he could not execute by being at the disposition of another. Book I.

'Tis upon this foundation, in my judgement, that Princes who finding in their States some Member thereof to have been usurped by their Predecessors, retain it in conscience, after the possession hath been long peaceable, and the occupation not interrupted nor contested. For in this, 'tis the Usuper that ought to answer the action, and that hath been obliged to repair th'injury that hath been committed, and the violence that hath been exercised, otherwise truly the Conditions of all Princes were miserable; They could never be assured of their States; They should be alwaies in quarrell with their Neighbours, and the peace of the world should be altered by too frequent Changes, and by eternall revolutions. It is nevertheless true, that although the retention be not unjust, and in Conscience be defended; yet that hinders not the just pretensions of others to those States, or that they may not also in Conscience pursue the recovery of them by Negotiation or by Arms; Provided nevertheless, that there be no Treaty nor Agreement equall to it, by which they have renounced their right; that they have done no action contrary to it; and that so great a time be not elapsed, that the place be held by a formall demission of the right, and embrace the universall Consent of all Nations, and of all people in favour of the possessor. So the King may

Book I. lawfully keep *Metz*, *Thou*, and *Verdun*, though these places had been unjustly taken; so we may pretend in Conscience to the Soveraignty of *Flanders*, and to the States of *Milan*, *Naples*, and *Navarre*, since we have for that, Pretences well grounded, and undoubted Titles: that our Claimes have alwaies been made; that they are known of all the world; and that we have not by Treaty nor Action, destroyed the force of them; so we should be condemned to endeavour the recovery of the losses of the first successors to *Charlemaine*, and to deter those quarrells whereof with difficulty History hath perserved any intire impressions, or any light that were not troubled.

That if Soveraigns are bound up with so great rigour and hard Chains for the good of the people, who are their subjects; How much more ought the Ministers of State, and Agents whom they imployed to be bound up: And how religious ought they to be in the management of the thing that concerns so many persons, which enlargeth it selfe upon sacred and prophane heads, and where th'interest of God mixeth with that of men; 'Tis not to be understood by what hath been said, that I would banish Liberality and Magnificences from the life of *Princes*, and from the condition of publique persons; nor that I would cause these virtues to descend below the Thrones, and below the Purple, since they are properly there, onely in their Glory and Dignity; and that Great persons have no other advantage of mean persons that are honest men, then th'ability of doing good, which others have onely in Will and Inclination, for want of power. But there's a peculiar art in conducting of these Virtues, without which they pass easily into the nature of the Vice that is neareſt to them; and resemble Torrents, which in stead of refreshing, destroy, and in pressing too hard the course of their waters, and to precipitate their fall, are presently dry, and leave nothing behind them but marks of desolation, and impressions of ruine. But thereof I shall treat in another place; Let us return to the subject from whence we parted, and give the King th'honour, that no Prince ever had more tender or lively resentments, for th'interest of his States, or for the dignity of his Kingdom, then himselfe. There's nothing so hazardous that this passion did not cause him to undertake, nor nothing so difficult that it hath not mastered. It hath made him change th'apparance of things, such as appeared impossible, have been affected; and th'Evils which were believed desperate, have found their remedies and Cure. He had no rest till he had made himselfe master of all his Subjects, and he hath constrained them to be faithful,

full, who knew not to obey so long as they could defend themselves. He went abroad in all places where our Interests lay: The relations of blood concerned him not so much as those of his Crown: All other Duty hath given place to that of Regality, and he hath the content to have rendred unto it intirely, the two things that maintain it, Reputation and Power. Book. I.

But 'tis not to be forgot, that God hath raised a Person to second his great and just inclinations, who having an understanding and virtue above the Ordinary of men, hath imployed all his wit and virtue for his Masters Greatness and Glory; He laid aside the consideration of a particular Capacity, so soon as he became a publique person; nothing could divert him from doing his Prince good service: He feared not the hatred of great persons, nor the bitings of the people. And he kept his way and pace as well through the contradictions and resistance was made him, as through th'acclamations received, and the prayers given him. Then also when he might have landed after a glorious Voyage, when Envy was silent, and reduced to observe the future; finding nothing in his past Actions for reproof, but for Commendation, when he might have enjoyed the sweetnesse of that Rest which attends happy troubles, and honourable labours. He would not, because it was necessary for us; that all forraine winds were not laid, and that disturbances were busie amongst our Neighbours and Allies. He chose rather to commit a full and entire glory, as his was, to the hazards of the future alwayes doubtfull, and subject to revolutions, than to permit his Master and Country to desire his care and aid; And that which is most admirable, is, that his love so necessary, and duty so inviolable, have sometimes prevailed with him to suspend resentments which troubled him nearer then his personall preservation, which were dearer to him then his life, and which he preferred to all his fortune at Court, and to all the greatness of the world. In pursuance of this, I say also what concerns the manners of particular persons and their Government; Charity commands us to lay out on them the best Colours, and most favourable Interpretations. But when the question is of the good of States and Interest of Princes, a greater severity of Judgement must be used. All appearances of Evill must be attended with distrust, and divers expedients must be used to avoid surprises, and to secure against Ambushes. The reason is, that 'tis not permitted to commit small faults in such great and general matters, and that the will doth not engage to prepare us against deceit, when a great opinion is had of the honesty of the per-

Book I. persons that are to be treated withall. But if precaution be at any time necessary, and if there be need at any time of preservatives against so subtill and piercing a contagion; 'tis principally in that season, when Treachery makes a part of politique Prudence, and where the simplicity of them who suffer the surprise, is more shamefull then the perfidy of them that deceive to their own advantage; Add th'Artifices that are imployed to disguise it, and the subtilties which have been invented to represent it under another name then its own, and cause it to pass under shews contrary to its nature; insomuch that though it be alwaies condemned by the mouth, and in Coversations, I doe not see nevertheless that 'tis cast out of the commerce of Princes, and use of affaires, but by th'event when it proves fatall; let us conclude then, that in these occasions diffidence is the Mother of safety; and not to be deceived, preparation must be made as if it were to be expected.

The Twelfth Discourse.

That a Minister of State ought endeavour to make his Deportments more Profitable than Eminent.

THat a Minister of State ought to be a stranger to th'Apprehensions of the vulgar, that he ought not to be subject to the weakness of Low spirits, nor to touch upon th'objects which entertain them. That he know how to make difference betwixt the reality and apparance of things; betwixt the solidity and the brightnesse; that he prefer not Glass before Gold; because th'one is more shining and luminous, and th'other more dark: He must not value so much the colours of the Bow in heaven, which are but a beam of light fixed for an hour in some drops of water thickned in th'air, as the firm lasting Colour of the *Ruby*, *Emerode*, and *Opale*. He must make a noble expence when it shall be necessary, and be splendid on important occasions, and appear for th'honour of his Master; He must not neglect th'occasions whose principall Quality resides in Magnificency: As the Embassies that are made upon the coming in of a King, upon the Crowning of a *Pope*, for an alliance or a marriage; but let him not fall sick upon such expences, nor be transported, nor make it the greatest Ornament of his conduct, and choysest expression of his life, nor fix his greatness upon a transitory Pomp, nor his glory upon a Magnificence that flyeth away; and above all to beware, that instead of being magnificent he become not prodigall; for as Vice cannot be made beau-

beautifull what Ornaments soever are put upon it. 'Tis certain, that the people are provoked when a vain ostentation is made of their substance, and a triumph of their sweats and pains. They are amazed and at a stand; but in the same manner as they behold the pulling down of Temples, and th'overflowings of Rivers: Wise persons are troubled, when the principal force of the State is dissipated, the security of peace, and th'instrument of War, which is Money, in superfluous expences, since there's never enough for the necessary occasions. Book I.

The things which I have said, are chiefly in relation to the people, which astonish and ravish them, at the instant they make them afraid. There are other things also which touch upon the great Spirits, and transport th'highest Courages; Such are th'Arms of War, and th'objects of Valour: There's no virtue in th'opinion of the greatest part of men more in esteem than this, and no matter is more acceptable for Conversation, nor any Entertainment more bewitching, then th'effects of War; wherefore Historians shun the times of peace and dead seasons, as Mariners do the gentle seasons and calms of the Sea; on the contrary, they triumph in War, and in Tumults; the Seditions and Insurrections of the people, are the lights of their writings; and their faireſt subjects and most excellent Arguments, are raised upon the Ruine of Empires, and the death of great persons; wherefore they that frequently read *Tacitus*, do not so much fix upon the subtilties and deceits of State, whereof his Books are full beyond probability; as upon the routing of the *Roman* Legions; upon the Revolts of Armies against their Generalls; upon th'inundation of the Sea, and wrack of Fleets; Th'Art of *Tiberius* to govern, is not read with so much pleasure; nor the Artifices of *Sejanus* to establish himselfe, as the poysoning of *Germanicus*, or the violent death of *Seneca*; The dexterity practised by *Tiberius*, in the name of *Sejanus*, is not so earnestly considered, and the subtil and captious Letter he wrote to the *Senate* to be rid of him, and whereof he was an Hearer; as the punishment of a person who had raised his Statues to the side of his Masters, and th'overthrow of that *Colossus*, who had commanded all th'Earth. 'Tis not, sayeth *Aristotle*, that Valour is the first of all Virtues, or that Justice is not to be preferred before it; but that it acts with more boldness then other Virtues, and is exercised in surmounting of dangers, and in despising of death. 'Tis reasonable that the Recompence that is due to it from abroad, be the greater and the more eminent; that it be Crowned with Glory, and they that give their Lives to the service of their Princes, and to the

Book I. good of their Country, obtain another life not subject to perish; and to be preferred in the memory of men, and to flourish alwaies in the mouthes of the Renowned.

Though these things here do raise admiration, and that the spirit of man which attends naturally actions of Eminency, layes out excessive love upon them, though a Minister of State ought to esteem them highly, and honour the Conduct when it shall be necessary; yet he ought to proceed further, and know that there are more silent and concealed operations, which are better then th'others, because they are more usefull for the publique, and want of that outward recompence; Time onely discovers them, in regard that secrecy is their principall Condition, and the wise onely consider them according to their merit, because they make but little noyse, & touch not upon the senses which make up the reason of the people; They resemble the Rivers, which running gently from the womb of their Center, fill the fields with fruitfulness, and Cities with abundance; or the motions of the Heavens, which being almost undiscernable, turn upon the Earth the power of the Sun, and the wealth of the Stars.

To foresee th'evills which may befall a State; to prepare preservatives to hinder their growth; to suppress the Causes before they have produced their Effects, are things very little considered: And yet a greater Obligation is due to a Physitian, that preserves the health from all sorts of Alteration, than to him that restores the health when it is lost; A greater Debt is due to him that hinders a person from falling, then to him that draws him from a precipice; And 'tis a better and more difficult thing to preserve a State, then to Conquer it: The preservation of the Creatures is as noble and excellent a work of God's, as their Creation. They are both of the same price, and th'one is but the continuation of th'other. But it is not the same in Conquests and preservation of States; The first are not gained but by pieces; one Province is added to another, and there's need of severall Ages, and of great Revolutions of things, before a Monarchy can attain the Greatness that composeth it. But the second takes notice of the whole frame of an Empire, no part is exempted, and the pieces which have been made one after another, ought to move together as in a Watch, and to point out th'hours. The glory of Conquests is derived from many Causes, many Persons contribute to it; Fortune interposeth as well as Virtue; and the faults committed by Enemies, do advance them as much as the Conduct of the persons that obtain them. But the conservation, is th'effect

of

of a single person, or the work of a few persons: Imprudency enters not there but to destroy, and confound, and the door of Hazard, and so all th'Avenues of Fortune, is as strongly shut as it can be locked. In Conquests, force mingles with prudence, and the Body acts with th'understanding; but in Conservation, Reason onely is employed, and Wisdom the noblest of her habits. Book. I.

In a word, great Princes have found the last of these things more difficult then the first; *Augustus* endured much labour before he could confirm the Empire his Uncle left him, and it was not done without changing the face of the world, and without seeing all Nations armed against one another; That he reunited the body that was divided into three pieces. But he was so much troubled to maintain that Composition, and to govern that Frame when he became absolute, that he had it in deliberation amongst his friends, whether he ought to strip himselfe of so weighty a greatness, or bear it with the inseparable Cares and Thorns that are fastned unto it; Some have been found, who having tryed the weight, and tasted the bitterness, have chosen rather to abandon it, & cast themselvs upon the quiet of a private life, then alwaies to be encumbred with a multitude of Persons and croud of Businesse. There are some who have given the lie to that common opinion which Ambition hath invented, *That an Empire can no more receive a Companion, than the world two Suns*, and have permitted others to share with them in a thing so full of jealousie as Commands, and so incommunicable as Soveraignty. The Conduct of *Tiberius* for peace hath not been lesse admired, nor th'Artifices he used in his Age, lesse exactly observed by the Historians, then the Wars he made in his youth, and th'evidences of Valour which he gave in his most flourishing time. The life of one of our Kings which deserved the Sirname of Wise, is not less considerable then the lifes of them who have carried the Titles of Conquerors; and a Prince our Neighbour, hath given him this praise, that no King ever raised fewer Armies, and that no person ever gave him so much disturbance. The Difficulties wherewith he was assaulted both within and without; th'Artifices he was constrained to resist; the Conspiracies from which he was to be secured, and th'Enterprises of strangers, which he made useless by his prudence, delivered him to posterity, worthy of a Title which hath been given to meaner persons, as that of the Great.

Few Princes had greater Affairs in hand then *Lewis* the eleventh, or more Enemies; His principal Officers betrayed him; the Princes of the blood forsook him; He saw *England*,

Book I. *land, Burgundy, Flanders* and *Bretany*, in confederacy for his Ruine, and yet his dexterity surmounted those difficulties; He overcame his Enemies without conducting of Armies, or giving of Battails, and without making much noyse of eminent Attempts; He defeated all that was raised to destroy him; but never person was more to be feared in the Cabinet, nor had done greater things abroad, without stirring from home, then *Philip* the second. From th'*Escuriall* where he had shut up himselfe; He governed two Worlds, with three fingers of Paper. He was also as absolute in *Peru*, as in the Kingdom of *Castile*; with three words he changed the Governours, and deposed the Magistrates in *America*, and in *Japan*; And 'tis certain that never Prince was lesse seen of his subjects, nor more respected by them than he was.

According to what hath been said, 'tis not possible to suppose a more eaven Conduct, or more intelligent then that of *Sr. the Cardinal's*. He never offends against the conveniencie of things, and his Intelligence is so pure, and Reason so cleare, that he affigns them alwaies their just price and place; He is magnificent, and spends with Eminency; not that he hath no esteem naturally for wealth, or hath never adored th'Idoll of the Court, and the mean favours of Fortune; but because prudence hath so ordained it, and that his Occasions and Dignity require it. He makes not nevertheless that glorious dispensation, and high use of Riches, which is but for shew, and th'exterior; the Basis of his honour, or foundation of his glory. He knows that all prodigalls have more desire to spend then himselfe, and that publique Robbers have sometimes been seen in great States, who have had more power. But for th'other Imployment, which is the love of great Courages, which is th'Ornament of th' *Annales*, and Histories, and which hath made the greatest part of the Gods, th'Ancients have adored; It hath occasioned in him a great contest of body and mind, and he hath not forgot the thing might make him to prosper in it. 'Tis true, that he was furnished with the principles which accompany a noble blood, and an *Illustrious* Birth: 'Tis true, that his Reason, and the lights of his Understanding, have compleated that Disposition for all sorts of Good, which nature hath infused into him; notwithstanding it must be avowed that he followed such a profession of life, as had restrained those generous Inclinations, and hindred the seeds to grow; If they had not been raised up by his love to the King, and to the necessities of his Country.

But he loved his Master too well, to stay in the Calm whilst he

he was in the storms, and he was too sensible of the evills of *France*, to give onely his Counsells for its reliefe, and to suffer the Remedies to be applyed by other hands than his. The things which have been done in the Wars, where he was present, are incredible, and Prosperity will be puzzled to believe the wonders which happened in our time. But it must be confessed also, that in these Occasions he did not onely contribute his Courage, and the force of his soul, but blended also that secret Art and insensible Address, which is the highest degree of Civill science, and the perfection of Ministration. And as th'encounter of two Stars of different qualities, produceth here below effects which would not happen without that mixture, and confusion of Virtues; 'Tis certain also, that th'Industry which *Sr. the Cardinall* added to the Power, hath advanced the Kings Victories, and made them easie. It mollified th'hearts which could not have been broken but with great difficulty; It opened the Gates of Cities, where it had been dangerous to have entred by Breaches; it spared blood that was not to be despised, and an infinite number of lifes which have not been unprofitable to the State. Book I.

What hath not this Art done in the midst of peace, and in the quiet of affairs? how many designs, which had been fatall to *France*, have been stifled in their Conception? How many storms diverted at the very instant that the matter began to gather? and how many ill affections have remained barren for having been prevented? And abroad and amongst our Neighbours, hath not the same Art made discovery of its virtue and influence? It hath disappointed the subtilties of *Italy* from doing of us any harm; That th'Artifices of *Spain* have not surprised us, and that we have surmounted the prudence of strangers as well as their forces. That Prince beyond the Mountains that lived so many yeares, and raigned so long time, who alwaies repaired his weaknesse with his Crafts and his Courage; and deceived Fortune so often, that had made it her design to destroy him; had the displeasure to see his Charmes defeated, his Finesses discovered; and all that inverted upon him, which an experience of above fifty years, and the vivacity of his spirit, had furnished him with, of inventions to hurt us; The *Spaniards*, who have alwaies such plenty of means to attain their Ends, who set such subtill and invisible Twigs to catch other Nations, and have often finished in their Treaties the designs began in their Wars, were amazed to find a person so subtil as themselves; And, as the covetous persons believe they have lost

Book I. all they do not gain, the *Spaniards* have complained that they were deceived, when they saw that we knew how to hinder their decrie.

The Thirteenth Discourse.

That 'tis of Importance that a Minister of State be Learned.

Since this close Art, whereof we have now spoken, is so profitable for States, and gives sometimes such extraordinary strokes; since its hidden influences are so powerfull; since that its secret virtue is so active: Lets see a little from what spring it runs, and with what forces 'tis accompanied. There's no question, but for this as for all great Actions, the birth must be happy; Th'aspects of the Stars must be favourable, and Nature propitious to us, otherwise 'tis to labour in vain. If it be contrary to us, 'tis to build without a foundation, 'tis to sow seeds on the Rocks; or, at best, 'tis to row against the stream of a rapid River. When Nature and Birth have distributed their Gifts and Advantages, there are two things which help to gain this Art, and to forme it, Learning and Experience. We have treated thereof in the first Discourse of this Book. But in regard the first of them is ordinarily too little esteemed by them who make no use of it, but as an unprofitable moveable, and superfluous Ornament. And that 'tis sometimes too much neglected by them, who have great Obligations upon them to be furnished with it: Who have no motions but what are accompanied with publique Interest; no passions but such as are fatall to a State, and whose faults resemble the irregularities of the Sun which confound th'Harmony of the World, and make a totall change in Nature: It may not be superfluous, besides what hath been said in other places, to raise it here a little, and to withdraw it from the disdain which some would throw upon it.

The ancient *Romans*, whose least praise is, that they have not been imitated by any other Nation. They who were ordained to Govern the Common-wealth, that commanded all the world; They who had Commission to lead Armies, and subdue free people, became hearers of the Rhetoricians, and Disciples of the Philosophers: And though in the first Times, and golden Age of that Republique, the study of Sciences was not known, and that the persons of that time were instructed onely by Nature, and had no other Precepts to live well and do well, but th'Examples of their prede-

cessors

cellors and fellow Citizens. Though old *Cato* who deserved all the praise of a person born for the good of others; who in his Country gained all th'honours of Peace and War; who raised the question, whether he was a better Citizen or greater Captain, seems to have been an Enemy to men of Letters; The Judgement, nevertheless, of a single person, nor the Consent of a few Ages, are not even infallible, nor the soveraign Rule of the truth of things. Book. I.

'Tis true, that there are Sciences so superfluous, and occupations of the Understanding so frivolous, that the losse of time is the least Evill committed by them that make their Address; which do not onely puzzle but corrupt; which divert from Action, dissipate the powers of the soul, fill it with effeminate Habits, and make a man sometimes unable to serve the publique, or to be usefull to himselfe. And such were the Sciences from which no doubt *Cato* endeavoured to divert the *Romane* youth. But as for other Sciences that form th'understanding and refine Prudence; which rectifie Manners, and regulate the Duties of life; that fortifie Courage, and kindle the desires of Glory; He could never have consented, as I conceive, to the banishment of them from *Rome*, if they had been there taught; he would not have driven away the *Socratians*, the *Platonists*, th'*Aristotelians*, and th'other Masters of humane kind, as he did the *Greek* Orators; He would have known that from their Schools, did issue th'*Epaminondas's*, the *Xenophons*, and th'*Alexanders*; He had known that the Republiques called for them in Order to reformation, and that Tyrants sent for them to secure their Dominion, and to make lawfull the countenance of a power whose beginning was unjust.

That if Ages sometimes have produced great persons for Peace and War, who became such without th'ayd of Sciences, and the lights of Philosophy; If the *Gothes* could not endure in their Country th'exercise of Learning; If some Pagan Emperours have judged it for the best Expedient to take away the hearts from Christians, to leave them that fullen contemplation, and that languishing Entertainment; And if *Lewis the Eleventh* would not suffer his Son to learn above five or six Latine words, which he believed to include the whole secret of Government, and to comprehend all the substance of that Art. As to the first, it must be confessed, that they were the straines of Nature which fortune favours; that they were persons of very good common sense, and of very high Courage, and compleated by th'use of Affairs, and managment of Wars which they governed; Such have been the *Marians*, the *Tamberlaines*, and the first *Romanes* where-

Book 1. whereof we have above spoken. But it must be also acknowledged, that if study had been added to the rich gifts of Nature, and if Philosophy had cleared their understandings, that their valour had been fairer, and their glory more eminent; That it had not been stained with so many faults as it was, and that their valour so high and happy in their Youth, for being rooted in the body, had not failed, nor departed in Age, as it hapned to some of them.

That if th'health of the Common-wealth changed, when Sciences flourished much at *Rome*, and if it fell in a time when its Captains were Philosophers; Philosophy for that Cause must not be charged with it. You must not condemn th'Innocent, nor believe that she who laboured to moderate the passions, and to purge the soul of its blots and weakness, did infuse that violent Desire to raign, and that immoderate Ambition, which could not be restrained, neither by the inclinations of blood, nor by the love of their Country. This great disorder then proceeded from the temper of certain spirits, who after they had a long time commanded in those Provinces, and given Lawes to the people, could not reduce themselves to equality, and civill obedience, nor suffer Companions and Masters. Moreover that whilst the *Romans* were imployed, and that stranger Enemies exercised them at home, they thought onely of subduing or defending themselves. But since all the world yeelded to their Virtue, or submitted to their Power; that with the Conquest of the World, the wealth of all Nations was brought to *Rome*: That great persons made many servants and parties in the midst of the City, and in the Provinces: That Prodigality and Luxury had devoured the best Families, and that the change of state had given hopes of the change of fortune to them, who could not be worse then in their present Condition; no wonder at the disorders that hapned. It must not be thought strange if Factions were raised where Ambition was so hot: if Novelty was desired, where there was so much Poverty, and so much Wealth: and if the Ruine of one of the parties was attended with the ruine of the State, where the power that was shared became absolute by victory.

As to the second, it may be agreed, that for the simple function of Souldiers, 'tis not of importance that they be furnished with knowledge and Learning. And 'tis true, that those Qualities which ordinarily swell up th'understanding and make it overflow; weaken obedience which is so necessary for them, and render them lesse tractable for commands; chiefly if they have not a great opinion of their Commanders; which they have but seldom, because they have too much

much for themselves. Besides that presumption which ariseth to them from the small advantages which Letters give them above others that have them not; causeth them not to expose themselves willingly but upon th'eminent occasions, and that they scorn to apply themselves to mean and small Factions, which are often a great occasion for great Executions, and to obtain the Victory. Wherefore *Ludovick Sforze*, who by his Ambition overthrew the peace of *Italy*, and opened the door to Strangers, who have since subdued it, said, *That a great Wit made an ill Condition in a Souldier, and that he received not easily into his service them who were proud of it*: 'Tis true also, that it infinitely concerns States that are obliged to entertain great Armies, and are jealous of the Reputation of Commerce, without which they become poor, and the Revenue of the Prince decayes; That there be not so great a number of Scholers, as are seen in *France*; That irregular number of men who cast themselves into the Church, or into th'exercise of Justice, is the cause that such formidable Armies, as heretofore cannot be raised, and that many who would make good Merchants, and their Families to flourish, if they had been bred in Trade, ruine or incommodate them, by becomming ill Doctors, and dangerous or unprofitable Members of the Court of Justice. Book. I.

For what concernes *Lewis th'Eleventh*, it must not be understood that his opinion comprehends all the duty of a Prince, and all the knowledge of Government: it makes but a little and dangerous party, and that there are nobler Maximes for Raigning, and more exalted Principles, than dissimulation. And truly the seeds of good which were in his Son, remained imperfect for want of improvement. His Courage that was high, wanted Rule and Conduct, and his Understanding had not force enough to resist the Corruption of them, that had invironed him, and the designs of his Ministers of State, who ruined his business to doe their own.

The Fourteenth Discourse.

That 'tis of importance that a Minister of State be Eloquent.

YOu have what I would say in defence of Letters, which help to forme th'Art of a Minister of State, and sometimes serve for a Guid, and Torch, to them who are to walk often in the dark, and amongst Precipices. It remaines now to speak a word of Eloquence, which is as th'hand of that

Book I. Art and Instrument wherewith it enters the hearts, stirs up the passions, gives to things the form she pleaseth, and renders her selfe Mistress of Men and Businesses. 'Tis a quality of an incomparable perfection which requires all the favours Nature can bestow upon a Body and Wit: All the polishings that Labour and Industry can bring unto it, and all that good Custome and Experience can adde unto it. 'Tis so full also of Glory, that 'tis never exposed to Disdains, as sometimes the Sciences are. She makes her selfe to be feared, if not to be beloved; she hath Lightnings as well as Crowns. She raigns in all places, and to that height, that she undertakes to change the order of Providence, and to take away the use of Liberty from the Causes, to which God had given it.

This Quality then which cannot be perfect, nor in its true Dignity without Virtue and Philosophy, is worthy of the Cares of a Minister of State. It wonderfully adornes Peace, and is of great service in time of War. 'Tis by her power that th'Ancient Orators protected the Innocency of particular persons, and defended oppressed Provinces. 'Tis by her force, that the fall of States hath been sometimes prevented, and fatall Conspiracies dissipated. 'Tis by her, that *Cicero* merited honours, which he preferred to the Triumph of Conquerors. And by her, he pretends to have place amongst the Founders and Restorers of the first Common-wealth of the world. 'Tis she that hath often secured the Victories that were doubtfull; that hath given courage to the Souldiers that had lost it; that struck fire and boldnesse into the souls of them who compelled Fortune to favour them, and that would die or overcome.

And without speaking of *Xenophon*, of *Cæsar*, and of the greatest Captains of Antiquity; who have gained in the Modern Ages a higher and clearer Reputation than *Scanderbeg*, than the great Captain, and than *Gaston of Foix*? And is it not true that these three great persons have alwaies begun to prepare the Victory by Discourse, and by perswasion, which after they compleated by Conduct and Valour. In effect, it is no small favour which God hath done to the reasonable soul, by giving it power to communicate its thoughts, and to bring to light its affections; And Speech is a present of an extraordinary price, wherewith she may distribute part of her excellencies: She can give without losse, and make rich without becoming poor; she can see the Treasures abroad she hath within her selfe, the Lights that beautifie her, and those admirable Representations whereof she is at the same time the Painter and the Table:

And 'tis for that chiefly, that ſhe hath received ſo exquiſite a Guift: For in relation onely to the Body, and the ſingle neceſſities of th'animall life, 'Tis probable that Nature would have given it certain ſigns, and ſome exterior Motions to expreſs them, as it hath done to Beaſts and little Children. But as health of it ſelfe is a ſilent good, and is ſcarce felt, if pleaſure do not animate it, and delight give it life; ſo the Dignity of Speech is unknown, if it be not accompanied with Graces, and expreſſed with Pomp. Book I.

It ſeems that Reaſon ſcorns to go abroad unleſs ſhe be adorned; that ſhe hath no force without allurements; and affects Complaiſancy, that ſhe may be uſeful: And 'tis Eloquence, and that divine faculty whereof we ſpeak, which fits and trims Reaſon to ſo high an Admiration; 'Tis ſhe that doth furniſh her with Flowers and Ornaments; 'Tis ſhe that cauſeth Reaſon not onely to bring Light to be underſtood, but alſo ſtirs up Love to be followed.

I will not ſpeak here of the knowledge of *Sr. the Cardinal*, nor of the wonder, that laying out ſo much time for Action and Direction for publique Affairs, there ſhould remain to him any time for his ſtudy, and for to gain that generall knowledge he hath of all good things. It were alſo to be ignorant of his ſtrength and dignity of his ſubject. To ſpeak of his Eloquence, it were to ſeek light from the Sun, to undertake the publiſhing of that Divine Faculty which is every day admired in Councills: which hath ſo eminently appeared in Aſſemblies, done ſo great ſervices to *France*, and hath ſo often by his Mouth and Pen made the Chriſtian truths to Triumph. 'Tis ſuch, and his ſoul is ſo ſtrangely imbued, that as there are places in the world, from whence nothing is taken, but what is perfumed and odoriferous; In liker manner, even the moſt familiar Diſcourſes, and ordinary Entertainments of *Sr. the Cardinall*, hold forth ſome Tincture, and give ſome taſte of the virtue of that excellent quality.

The Fifteenth Diſcourſe.

That the Councill of a Prince ought to be compoſed of a few perſons.

'Tis of importance that the Councill of a Prince be reduced to a few Heads, ſo as they be well choſen; and that the number be not the Evidence of his Dignity, but the Merit and Virtue of his Counſellors. Unity is the laſt meaſure of the perfection of things; and the firſt of all Beings,

is

Book I. is the most single of all others. This Being is God himselfe, who without suffering Division of Parts, or mixture of Qualities, is infinitely perfect within, and infinitely active without; and by a power infinitely pure, and infinitely single, and without th'adjunction of any forraine virtue, hath produced the wonders we see, and that variety of subjects which are united to make the world: And without him the most noble Natures, and most excellent, are the least composed and the most indivisible; And we rejoyce much more in a sight not limited in th'extents of its objects, and that can know all the colours of Nature, and the Figures of all Bodies; then if we had as many eyes as the visible Objects are divers, and Colours different in nature.

So, if it were permitted to make faire Dreams and magnificent Wishes, it were to be desired that a Prince alone should make up his Councill: That he were the sole Director of his business; That he were the sole intelligence to give it motion, and that he alone held the Helme, and handled the Scepter. But insomuch that such a Prince was never seen, and that th'Idæa remaines in th'head of *Xenophon*, that History doth not propose the like to us; that th'imperfection of humane things suffers it not; and that he who boasted that his Horse carried him and all his Councill, did sometimes commit such enormous faults and foolish errours, that all the world takes notice of them. A Prince ought at least so to order his business, that his power be not loose, that it enlarge not, and be restrained to a few persons, that it may be the more active and absolute, and its operation the more nimble and efficacious. But that the goodness of this order may appear the better, and th'advantages that accrew to a State, where it is observed to be the more evident; It may not be amiss to demonstrate it by the comparison of other formes of Government which are more disunited, and where the Authority to resolve businesse is more dilated; for the things of this world do appear best by opposition; the shadow quickens the colours and the Lights; Recovery from sicknesse is more agreeable then health: and there's no good that would not lose one halfe for its just price, if there were no evill contrary to it; I will say upon the subject in hand, a word of the Republique of *Venice*, of that of the *Suisses*, and of the Government of the *Polaques*, which is a mixt kind of Government, and composed of *Aristocracy* and *Monarchy*.

Lewis the Eleventh.

I think that no Republique was ever established with so great Wisdome, or that received Orders more apt to attain th'ends of a civill life, which is the happinesse of Inhabitants, then that of *Venice*: 'Tis not but that some have made

made a greater noyse in the world, and whose Empire hath been more enlarged, & Dominion more glorious. But as the greatest bodies, and of highest stature, are not ever the soundest; and as the vastest buildings are not alwaies the firmest: so the good policy of a State, and the goodnesse of its Composition, is not to be judged by th'extent of the Country it enjoys, & by the great quantities of Earth and Sea it commands; so whosoever considers the duration of the Republique of *Venice*, and its quiet for 1200 years, and observes that it hath never been strongly agitated within, and hath felt but a leight intestine sedition; may easily conclude that the Noble parts have been very sound, and that the Foundations are very deep and solid: And though of late it may seem that her Forces are diminished, that her best condition is past, and that the violence of some strange cause hath blasted the beauty of her Countenance; there's no matter of astonishment, nor any great wonder that old Age should produce wrinckles; that what is mortall should be sometimes sick; that the strong should offend the weak: and that Prudence should not alwayes be Mistress of Fortune, nor good events the necessary effects of good Counsels. Book. I

Though this be thus, yet there's some change to be wished, as to the manner of their Treating, and resolving th'affaires of that Republique; and 'tis a great mischief, that they are carryed through so many Assemblies, and pass by so many Heads, whereof the Senate is composed; the Secret which is never very safe with a multitude, hath much ado to be there preserved; Length is unavoydable there, and many times Fortune flies away, and good occasions are lost; whilst they deliberate, and before they have concluded. Heretofore in pressing matters, and where dispatch was requisite, and Secrecy extraordinarily necessary, they were treated, and resolved in a Councell, which they called of *Ten*, with the same force and Authority as in the Senate. But they have since judged, that the supream Authority, attributed to Ten persons in matters regarding the whole State, was of too dangerous a consequence, and that that Order might in time by th'Ambition, and by th'Artifices of particular persons, degenerate into a pure Aristocracy, and corrupt th'essence of their Government, which is blended of three others.

From thence may be seen the fatality of humane things; that the good is ever accompanied with some evill, and that nothing is so well accomplished, as not in some part to be defective. Of all sorts of Government, under which the world rowls, the most excellent are not exempt from spots. 'Tis not, but that they who invented them, foresaw th'inconveniences

Book I. veniences: but that they could not do better, nor provide a Remedy, where none was to be had. Prudence is not so often imployed in chooſing the greateſt Good, as in avoiding the greateſt Evills; and as we ſee in the Compoſition of the humane body, that there are but a few parts capable of pleaſure, and which touch upon the pleaſant Objects: and that on the Contrary, all parts are expoſed to grief, and to ſhare Reſentments; ſo it happens that in all other things, th'evill enters by more wayes then the good, and finds more places to make its impreſſion, and exerciſe its violence. If this be to be ſeen in all of Nature, and if it be an experience which paſſeth even to Beaſts; it ought not to be thought ſtrange, if in a matter ſo mixed and ſo confuſed, as States are, and where Fancies ſo different, and Inclinations ſo various, do enter; if the pure good be not there found, nor ſuch a perfection as no ſort of vice can alter: Let's go on.

As to the Common-wealth of the *Suiſſes*, 'tis a ſort of Government very looſe, and in ſome meaſure tumultuous; The Bond that tyes them, is not ſtronger than that which joyns the Leagues; and there's onely this difference, that they do but ordinarily paſs, and have no durable cauſe; that they are not good, but to repell an Evill ſuddenly fallen upon ſome of the Confederates, and which threatens the reſt of them; or to prevent ſome ſtorm and inundation of ſome great approaching power; But ſo ſoon as the danger is over, or that th'oppreſſion is taken away, they fall of themſelves, and go out for want of aliment and matter.

Of this I will treat at length in the ſecond Part of this Work. But th'Union of the *Suiſſes* cannot periſh nor diſſolve, but by an outward violence; It hath an everlaſting foundation, which is jealouſie of Liberty; and though they dwell onely in Rocks, and that poverty ſtirs not from their houſes; yet they would not change their Condition, which appears not ſo ugly, but that there's great cauſe for them to be in love with it, and to believe that the Wealth which Nature hath denyed their Country, is plentifully repaired by the Independency wherein they have fixed themſelves, and by the Freedom under which they live. Their Policy then, which is at greater diſtance with Unity, than that of the *Venetians*, is by conſequence more imperfect, and hath greater Inconveniences: Secrecy is not to be found in their Meetings; the Convocation is made with extream tediouſneſs: Their Reſolutions are not taken but very late. And beſides th'error which is common to all Aſſemblies, To diſpute much, and conclude little; 'Tis certain the variety of Religions wherewith they are now in labour, cauſeth that when the Dyets are com-

composed of all the *Cantons*, that interests more opposite, and passions more opinionated are brought, than heretofore were practised; And it hath been seen, and we have made very troublesome experiences; that when our Forces were not fully known to us, and that our Infantry was almost raised out of *Suisses*; that the services were so slowly made, and came so late to us, that very often we lost fair Occasions, or received notorious hints before we were in condition to resist or undertake; And that is one of the Reasons which obliged *Francis* the first, to establish Legions in the respective Provinces, to have the Body of an Army of *French* Infantry alwayes in readinesse, and not to depend, when he had a mind to Arm, upon th'humours of that heavy Nation, and fancies of so brutish and mercenary a people. Book 1.

The Government of *Poland* is not a pure Monarchy, as I have said, but a mixt body composed of Aristocracy and Royalty. The King cannot deliberate any thing, nor undertake any thing for Peace or War, without th'Assembly of Nobles. This Constitution is subject to a thousand inconveniencies, and by reason of the tediousnesse it brings with it, 'tis at least certain it can never receive the Designs, where success depends upon the Promptitude, and where Execution ought to surprise and be Suddain, that it may be Happy; 'tis an Enemy to Secrecy, which is necessary to guide safely all sorts of Enterprises. It gives means to enemies, to use prevention, or to expect with Advantages, and to provide against the Tempest they see coming, and which grumbles and makes a noyse before it breaks out: There's nothing so easie as to steal in Corruption and Schisme, and 'tis impossible in so numerous and irregular Collection of men, as compose their Assemblies, that all parts should be sound and unalterable; and that all the Members should agree upon the generall good of the Body, so composed. In a word, no great or extraordinary thing is to be expected from this kind of Policy, and the *Polaques* ought not to think of Conquests, or to extend by War the Bounds of their Country, so long as they govern themselves in that manner. On the contrary, they have often suffered great losses, and received notorious outrages from the Turk, from the *Muscovites*, and particularly from the *Tartars*, before they could draw their Forces together to repell them, and fight them upon their retract. And if Nature, or rather the Corruption of Mankind, had not raised other Thiefs, which are called *Cosaques*; They would suffer yet more invasions, and more suddain Enterprises from their first mentioned Enemies. But it seems that these *Cosaques* are the Counter-poyson, and Remedy,

and

Book I. and often exchange it with them, and run with ruine and desolation into their Country, and even into the Dominions of the *Turk* who protects them.

And though it be thus, that this Policy hath so remarkable faults, It would be a difficult matter to reform it: The naturall Inclination which the Septentrionalls have for liberty, would make there a great resistance, and I doe not think that there's a benefit, which th'absolute and independent Authority of the King could promise to the *Polaques*, which would in their opinion equalize the pleasure and profit they find in being above their King; to do justice to themselves; to provide by their own hands against the evils that hurt them. And in a word, to taste of the soveraignty and absolute power. To speak freely, there are precipices on what side soever you look, and both extremities are attended with its Commodities, and hath its Flowers and Thornes. And as th'Aristocratique and mixed Government is a bridle to Princes that would abuse their Authority, and hinders them to exceed: 'Tis true also, that when they have good Understanding, and an upright Will, the condition of their subjects is better then otherwise it would be; and the affairs of State breathe more wholsome Air, and take a safer Course. All nevertheless being well examined, the best expedient is that every person live conformable to the Laws and Customs of his Country were he dwels; That he love the forme of Government which is there established; that he observe the Policy there in use; and conceive that Change is the worst of all Evills that can be there introduced, which almost never enters without violence, and ever almost tears up that which it would take from its place.

The End of the First Book.

THE MINISTER OF STATE.

Book II.

First Discourse.

That a Compleat Minister of State ought to be able for Counsell, and for Execution; and ought to have a free power particularly for the War.

'Is certain that a single Quality makes not up the perfection of Administration; and to form it, th'highest powers of Man are necessary, and the noblest habits of those powers. It is not satisfied with that, nor content onely with th'inward beauty, and with private satisfaction. It's Inclinations are more vast and ambitious: It suffers, if it remain concealed; It desires the Light; It will appear abroad; It must enlarge and communicate it selfe; In a word, Action is her end and her Crown, and without it, it should be a treasure half lost: or as the veins of Gold in the bosome of th'Earth, which no person hath discovered. Her beginning is that light of the Soul, and that product of th'understanding, which is called Prudence. But as the light of the Sun is a generall Quality, and which alone would produce nothing; so Prudence hath use of divers other Virtues to execute her Orders, and to give motion to her Deliberations. And again,

Book II. as those Virtues have need of her Light and Influence, to know th'object whereon they ought to look and to pursue; In like manner also Prudence refines her selfe by th'exercise of those Virtues, and by the troubles and stormes which the imperfection of humane discourse lets fall. They take them away, and are made clearer by experience. 'Tis not necessary that he who deliberates should alwaies execute; That he who hath a very sound head, should have also strong Arms; nor that he who hath Prudence, should have all the virtues requisite for Action; 'tis sufficient that she guide them and direct them in what subject soever they are found, and upon what matter soever they are imployed. But as th'Artificer judgeth much better of the work of his hands, and of th'excellency of his Idæa, when he sees it upon the Cloth or the Marble; so Prudence also is much better assured of the goodnesse of its Judgements, by th'Effects then by the single Discourse that precedes them, and by the sole Agitation of the Reason which goes before: And in my opinion, 'tis of that perfect prudence, and which use hath compleated, that *Aristotle* is to be understood, when he saies, *That there's no true Prudence without th'other Morall Virtues.*

'Tis true, that when these Virtues do meet in her company, when they dwell together, when they proceed from a common principle, and from the same Root; Their Conduct is more certain and more happy; Prudence is the more intentive upon her businesse; She governs them with more tractableness, and by constant illuminations; secures them with more ease from the Ambushes of Fortune, and from th'unexpected inconveniences of the times; Wherefore in matters of War, th'execution of an enterprise ought alwaies to be committed to him who proposed it, provided he be a capable person to perform it; for therein he is excited to do well, by the glory of Success, and by the jealousie of his opinion, which is a violent and imperious passion; and, straying to defend the noblest and most exalted faculty of the Soul, which is the Judgement, seldom abates of the Contest and pursuit. As also it is not safe to put th'execution of a design into the hands of them that voted against it; who will be alwaies slow in Action; who will bring to it but the halfe of themselves; who will have but faint motions, and conformable to the passions that shake them, which are irresolution and distrust; and who have wherewithall to comfort themselves in th'ill of success, by the truth of the Prediction they had made, and by the Reputation of wisdom, and providence they had gained to themselves.

Though it be so, and much better, that he who is capable to

to resolve, be also capable to execute; 'Tis nevertheless a rare encounter amongst men; and as there are but few places on th'Earth which bring forth all that respects the pleasures of the Senses, and the necessities of Life; so, there are but few souls that have all the virtues proper for Government; and it seems that the Law of humane Society, as that of Nature, would have a dependency betwixt the spirits of men; as there is a Commerce and Communication betwixt divers Countries, and different Nations of the World; so the Coldness of *Parmenio* tempered th'heat of *Alexander*; so the Wisdom of *Cyneas* restrained the Courage of *Pyrrhus*: so *Scipio* observed th'orders of *Lælius*, and *Augustus* found a temper in the prudence of *Metœnas*, and valour of *Agrippa*, to which nothing was impossible. Book II.

Wherefore a Minister of State that hath all these perfections, ought to be of high price with his Prince: The State ought to reverence him as an extraordinary person; and the virtues which being severed merit a price, and to be esteemed; deserve highly some new respect, and a particular Veneration, when they joyn in a single subject for the generall good of the World: At least 'tis certain, that th'ill which attends the great variety of Agents is avoided; They that uphold them, agree rarely together in the same Design: Concord is seldom found amongst them, unless it be in Looks and Words, because th'heart is false, or interessed; and Jealousie is there the stronger, for that it proposeth to it selfe the possession of so great a good, as the favour of the Prince, and the power of the State; They that are onely for Counsell, and whose virtue shines only in the Cabinet Councell, encline alwaies to peace how dishonourable soever. 'Tis then they truly raign, when all other greatness bowes to theirs. And that they see at their feet the glory of Armes, and the Crowns of the Victorious. On the contrary, during the War they are out of countenance, and their Authority declines in that troublesome season. They are darkned by a profession that hath more pomp and light then theirs; And in regard that those who are called to Command, are usually extraordinary persons, it makes them strongly jealous, and apprehend th'encrease of power upon the spirit of their Master, and the taking of root in his Inclinations; wherefore they endeavour to make them unprofitable, that they might be the lesse considerable. They trouble them in their employments, that they might be the lesse happy. The great Victories make them more afraid then great Losses, and our Generalls have often seen dis-banded th'Armies they Commanded, and enterprises ruined, whereof the Begin-

Book II. ginnings were plausible; for having not timely received, or in the fit Quantity the provisions necessary for continuing of the War. They on th'other side prolong the troubles, and lengthen the confusion to th'uttermost of their power, to subsist in Credit and esteem. They love the stormes because they help to guide the Ship; They desire sickneſſe, because they are imployed in applying the Remedies; but nevertheleſſe they would have no end made, for fear of remaining idle Pylots, and unprofitable Physitians. Moreover they complain alwaies first: They frequently accuſe them of their own faults, and ease themselves upon them of th'envy of their ill ſucceſſes and disgraces that attend it.

And when it doth not ſo happen, and that there ſhould be amongſt them a perfect underſtanding and generall agreement; The Obligation nevertheleſſe which ſome of them are under to receive Orders for Action from others, and that regular Dependency, is ever importunate, and ſometimes pernicious; Whilſt they conſult the Councell of the *Prince*, occaſions do paſſe; Things take another Countenance, and ſo many unexpected Accidents happen, for which ſuddain proviſion muſt be made, that by their Violence they are carried away before Remedy can be applied, and the buſineſſe periſheth for not daring to relieve it when it was in their power. This unhappineſſe hath been particularly obſerved in ſome of our Neighbours States. The *Venetians* have made little uſe of th'occaſions of the War, and their Generalls have often ſeen a good occaſion paſſe away before them, without daring to ſtay it, or to hinder it from flying away, becauſe they had not the *Senate's Order*. They begin alſo to withdraw from that dangerous Maxime, and are no more ſo ſcrupulous as they were, to permit them to act of themſelves, and to take th'Advantages which offer themſelves. It is alſo obſerved, that th'affairs of the Low Countries ſuffered much for the ſame reaſon towards th'end of the life of *Philip the ſecond*; and that they changed extreamly by reaſon of the great delayes they were conſtrained to uſe at the time of the want of his health, and decay of his age; Th'ill was, that they would take moſt cogniſance of all things when they could worſe do it, and were moſt earneſt to retain buſineſſe when the time was elapſed. That Prince changed his Conduct, and in ſafer occaſions he was accuſtomed to give almoſt a ſoveraign Authority to them whom he imployed. The *Duke of Alva* had it moſt abſolute when he came into *Flanders* to make War to the growing Rebellion. *Don John of Auſtria* had it very large, when he was choſen chiefe of the Chriſtian League againſt the *Turk*, after the Conqueſt of

Por-

Portugal; The *Cardinal Albert* had an unlimitted power to reform the Kingdom, and *Philip* the ſecond procured him a Legation, that he might act with the greater Authority, and he was at one and the ſame time abſolute Judge of temporal and ſpiritual Affairs. Book II.

Inſomuch that if the *Cardinall* had carried with him in his ſecond journey, beyond the Mountains, a Commiſſion as ample as ſome have deſcribed it; and that the noyſe which was but a Fable, had been true, it had not been new nor without Example; Our Neighbours have ſhewed us the way, and that Nation alſo which underſtands th'Art of governing better then any Nation in the World. But the moderation of this Lord hath been ſuch, that he ſought not any extraordinary Power in that Occaſion: That he hath not done nor undertaken any thing, but by the expreſſe Orders of the King, and they that have ſtudied his Life, and obſerved his demeanour, know that he hath choſen rather to be conſidered by th'Actions of the compleateſt Obedience which a Subject can give to his Soveraign, than by the particular marks of Honour and Affection which he could have received. But beyond this, let us confeſſe, that he is that extraordinary perſon, who hath in an eminent degree all the Qualities fit for governing, which are rarely ſeen, but ſevered in others; who executes what he adviſeth; appears in Calms and Tempeſts; who hath deſerved th'honour of Peace, and the triumph of War, and in whom Virtue is not limited, neither by the Condition of the Times, nor Diverſity of Affaires.

The Second Diſcourſe.

Whence the Virtue of keeping a Secret proceeds, and how neceſſary it is for a Miniſter of State.

WE have ſhewed in the precedent Diſcourſe, how neceſſary it is that the Councill of a Prince be reduced to a few perſons, and how difficult it is for a multitude of perſons to keep a Secret; This may be added to th'happineſſe of the King's Raign, that never Councill was more faithfull then his, nor where the ſecret of Affaires lay more ſecure. The number is very ſmall, but of excellent perſons: Nothing is capable to untie their Tongue but when it is neceſſary. They are not weak, nor to be Corrupted. Their Virtue is proof to all Trialls. That Condition is particularly remarkable in him who is the Chief, and in whom reſides that Unity which is a Beam from the Soveraignty, and the

Book II. laſt meaſure of the perfection of things. Few perſons have been of profounder thoughts, nor of higher exaltations of ſoul; And but few have been ſeen that could better retaine them, or that were more the Maſter of them. And nevertheleſs the beſt thoughts of the world, and the moſt happy productions of wit have this in them, that they ought to reſemble fruits which ſhould be gathered in ſeaſon, that they may be wholſome; but they have this Imperfection, that they are like to Wine, which when it is new, endeavours to break out and to run out: The wit of man is ſo in love with it ſelfe, and hath ſo hot a thirſt to make it ſelfe known; that ſo ſoon as it hath conceived ſomething which may, as it believes, deſerve praiſe, hath impatience to diſcover it: It makes haſte to bring it to light; it cannot attend the juſt time of delivery; and it ordinarily falls out, that it loſeth by too much haſte the value of what would have been excellent, if it had been brought forth in ſeaſon, and had ripened at leaſure. Beſides this defect which is alwaies naturall to us, and which is the proper *French* Temper; There's another Cauſe for which the greateſt part of men cannot conceal long a deſign, without giving it Air, nor retain unto themſelves a good Thought; 'Tis the ſmall power they have to reſiſt common reports, and th'opinions that run abroad. It hath alwaies been th'humour of the people to be the Cenſurers of the deſigns of Princes, and of the conduct of their Counſellors. 'Tis a diſeaſe which cannot be cured in them; And it ſeems to them, that after they have made them their ſuperiours, and have put their goods and lifes into their hands; that at leaſt the liberty is reſerved unto them of judging of their abilities; Strange folly, that they who make ſo ill and crooked Judgements in their own affairs, whereof th'extent is ſo ſhort, and th'intelligence ſo eaſie; conſtitute themſelves Arbiters of State-affairs, whoſe principall circumſtance is ſecrecy, and which ought to be in th'eyes of the people, as propheſies, which are not to be underſtood but by their ſucceſs.

And nevertheleſs, though the knowledg of things be hid from them as much as may be, & that the Cauſes are concealed; they forbear not to pry into them, & that they may have alwaies matter of diſturbance And wherewith to torment themſelves unprofitably; They believe all things their ſenſe repreſents unto them, or that another paſſion ſuggeſts unto them. A dexterous perſon then, and one who hath a ſtrong underſtanding and high Courage; makes alwaies towards his End without diſturbance for theſe popular infirmities. He reſts in peace, whilſt they who have nothing to do, but

to

to take their ease, and cherish their health, are in trouble and in a feaver; and imitates the Heavens which alter not their Course for the Tempests of th'Aire, nor for the noyse that is made in that stormy Region. On the Contrary, weak understandings cannot sustain the liberty of Judgements, nor th'indiscretion of Tongues; The conjectures of Curious, and the speculations of idle persons offend them; They make haste to give a reason of their Designs, and by a precipitated judgement which they passe upon them, they see them abortive or fatal. Book II.

St. the Cardinal hath not done the like; When Envy was raised against him, when the Wits did mutiny against his Government; when his Enemies opposed him silently, or have assaulted him by outward force, or by publique Defiances; all that, hath not disordered him. His Actions were neither slow nor confused: And, as if such Difficulties improved his Judgement, or gave him new Forces; He never appeared so intelligent, or so valiant, as in all occasions that seemed to be desperate. Whilst th'*English* possessed th'Iland of *Rhee*, and that *Languedoc* was in Rebellion; and that one part of the *Huguenots* had declared themselves, and th'others observed the successe of forraine enterprises; That the discontented Catholiques did rejoyce at th'ills of the *State*, and that others feared the future which they saw troubled and full of storms; never person was more exposed to complaints and ill language, then himselfe. Indiscretion was extream; Insolency raised to threats, and that purple which is Venerable in th'eyes of Catholiques, and the Dignity of a Prince of the Church, were in danger of that common License, of being violated: His soul nevertheless changed not its place; His Courage was not shaken; He did not use violent or faint Remedies, as had been sometimes done to stay the Disorder; He did not use hatefull preservatives against an ill, which inflames by opposition, and is provoked by resistance: He chose rather to fight them with the greatness of his Actions, than by the fear of his punishments; and resolved that his Virtue should confound th'Artifices of the wicked, and th'Errours of the simple.

But how many sinister Judgements and sharp discourses, did the siege of *Rochell* raise? How many passions did that Town stir up amongst the Protestants, and amongst the Catholiques? How many Oppositions were set on foot against that Design, in the Kingdom and abroad, by them who were our declared Enemies, and by them who would seem to be our friends? What had not been said of th'expence of that siege, if being so vast it had been unprofitable? How much

Book II. much had they cryed out against us, if we had suffered our Allies to perish, and if that we had not reduced to obedience the rebellious *French*. And nevertheless, so many different passions, and all those irregular Motions, did not stop our pursuit, nor th'heat of an Enterprise, which hath secured the foundations of the State, and the foot of the Crown. And at that last business of *Italy*, How many disgracefull Discourses, and outragious Murmurings did it produce against the Reputation of that great Minister of State? It seemed that there were persons hired in all places, of purpose to cry down his Actions; His Enemies had found th'occasions they sought for, to discharge their Malice with colour, and vomited their Hatred with liberty: The people that ordinarily wish ill to them that govern them, and suffer themselves alwaies to be led by running Reports, especially when they are bad; remember no more th'evill from which they were delivered, but demand the good which they could not so soon receive, and few persons considered what was done, nor the progress of the Kings Armes, nor his Conquests, but what was yet to be done; Even our Allies applyed themselves to us for repair of their Losses: And as if they could not be imprudent or unhappy in our Company; It seemed good to them that we should answer for their faults, and for their disgraces; and the worst Accident of all, was the sickoesse of the King, so very violent, that it gave no place for hopes to honest men, and in such a conjuncture, that if this Prince had dyed, the world must have changed its face, and must have taken another Course, then what it ought to follow. In this Confusion of Spirits, and of Affaires, the Constancy of *Sr.* the *Cardinall*, lost not it selfe; His Reason was still awake, the Provisions for the relieve of *Casal*, were not interrupted; and he made it appeare that the wise Man is above all passions; and the true griefe he suffered for the love of so great a Master, left him strength and Address enough not to let go the Helme, and to bring us to our Haven in spight of contrary winds.

The Third Discourse.

That a Minister of State cannot have an equall Soul, unlesse he hath made tryall of Good and Bad Fortune.

THe quality whereof we have lately spoken, and that invincible constancy which is necessary for a Counsellour of State, is not a disposition of the soul, which nature hath infused, or that Philosophy hath compleated. It hath be-

beſides theſe, need of exerciſe to form it; And that divine Temper which hath its Roots in our ſelves, and hath cauſe to raiſe it ſelfe betwixt the Diſcourſes of Reaſon, and Examples of Hiſtory, ought to take its juſt growth from the Trials where fortune doth place us, and from the various Countenance it ſhews unto us. There's nothing in the world ſhe ſuffers with more impatience, nor that ſhe beholds with more maligne and more envenomed eyes. In every place where 'tis found, ſhe aſſault, it; in all places ſhe forms parties againſt it, ſhe will have it by force or by Artifice, and no cauſes or diſſimulations ſhall be wanting to corrupt it, nor rudeneſſe of violence, that ſhall not be exerciſed to overthrow it. So they that can warrant themſelves againſt her deſignes, and have power enough to reſiſt her Charmes, and her outrages; have competent Qualities t'aſpire to the Government of State; wherefore *Galba* proteſts, in *Tacitus*, that he called *Piſo* to the ſucceſſion of th'Empire, becauſe he had been unhappy and conſtant. And that he whom fortune could not overcome, was worthy to command the people of *Rome*; and to give Lawes to the Conqueror of Nations, and Triumpher over th'Earth. 'Tis to know onely the Moyety of ones Life, to have taſted onely of proſperity; 'Tis not to have ſayled far, to have the winds alwaies in Poope, and the Sea propitious; 'Tis to have matter onely for a part of the virtues which compoſe a Miniſter of State, to have been ever happy; Adverſity hath alſo her Virtues, as night hath her Stars: There are ſome that are wholly proper for it, and which cannot be practiſed but in ſo rude a ſeaſon, nor appear but in tumults, and in the midſt of ſtorms. Book II.

The life of *Sr. the Cardinall*, ought to be too highly raiſed, not be expoſed to this variety of Accidents, and too eminent to want examples of every Virtue. His Actions have deſerved Clappings from all hands, and praiſes from all Mouthes; They have given him dayes of Triumph, they have pierced the moſt retired parts of the World, and in all places there are but a few Names ſo great as his, after that of his Maſter; But he hath had his back-blowes and contradictions; He hath not been exempted from private Misfortunes, and publique Vexations. Fortune and Envy have diverſly exerciſed him; notwithſtanding, his Courage failed him not; his Conduct was equall. The Revolution that ſurrounded him, made no change in him, and what ſoever happened, his ſoul was neither puffed nor abated; this equality nevertheleſſe is not ordinarily found. And as amongſt the brighteſt Colours, there are but a few that preſerve the ſame

Book II. luſtre, and the ſame apparance to the light of a Day, and to the light of Torches: Hiſtories have alſo furniſhed us but with a few examples of Illuſtrious perſons, who have been equall in Proſperity and Adverſity: *Spain* commends the conſtancy of the *Duke of Alva*, and that he was never ſo great as in his afflictions. But it confeſſeth alſo, that proſperity made him overflow; that he was inſolent when he was proſperous; and that the Victories he gained were odious to his Maſters, though they were profitable unto them.

On the contrary, let us conſider the three Princes of *Spain*, that have known how to raign for an Age and halfe, and have dared to introduce immortall Deſignes, in a form of Government where Soveraigns dye, and which changeth often their Maſters: Lets conſider, I ſay, *Ferdinand*, *Charles* the fifth, *Philip* the ſecond, and we ſhall find that all their lives have been nothing but a Compoſition of good and evill, and a confuſion of contrary things. We ſhall there ſee Proſperity without Number; Diſgraces without Meaſure; Wounds dreſſed with Laurels, Triumphs adorned with Mourning; and above all that, conſtant and firm Courages, and an immoveable Virtue.

Behold *Ferdinand*, glorious in the reduction of the Kingdom of *Granada*, and with the Title of Catholique; Behold him triumphant in the Conqueſt of *Naples*, and of the fortune of *France*. Behold that a fancy gives him *Navarre*, and that chance finds him an unknown world and new wealth. This neither enflames him, nor effeminates him; He is not the more lazy, nor the leſſe vigilant: He formes greater deſigns, and layes the Platform of a Monarchy which ſhall exerciſe his Nephews a long time, and trouble the reſt of other Nations, and the peace of the world. Moreover, lets contemplate th'ill ſucceſſe of his life, and th'other ſide of the Medall. We ſhall ſee a Prince ill handled by fortune, and a Diadem bruiſed by her ſtrokes. We ſhall ſee a Father bury his own Son, and make Funeralls for his eldeſt Daughter: A Husband that loſeth his Wife, who was his Glory; and had been more the Companion of his troubles than of his bed; A Maſter abandoned by his Servants and Creatures; an old Man forced from his Houſe, and a Father in law ſtripped by his own Son in law. In this Sea of Diſgraces and of Afflictions, we ſhall alſo ſee an admirable ſerenity of ſpirit. A Calm that overthrows not it ſelfe; or if there was ſome kind of emotion, it did not paſs into a ſtorm, and was not violent nor dangerous. 'Tis true, that his Courage had a weakneſs in it which I cannot conceal, and a fault too viſible to be diſſembled; which is, not to have been able to ſuffer the re-

reputation of the great Captain, nor the Virtue of his own Subject that was faithful unto him. As to his Nephew *Charles*, 'tis certain that he was never so tractable as in prosperity, nor so inflexible as in Adversity. He never yeelded to force; no Prince of his time gave so much, and lost so little: and the *Spaniards* say that he never broke his word, but t'exercise Clemency, and to pardon his Enemies, whose Ruine he had sworn: During the tempest that arose in the Haven of *Algiers* against his Fleet, and when the Heavens destroyed it in his sight, no other word ever went out of his Mouth, than that wherewith our Saviour *Christ* hath taught us to pray, *That thy will be done*. He was humbled, but not overcome by that disgrace, and in that terrible *Chaos*, where th'Elements were confounded, and Nature in disorder, His Courage stood firm, His Judgement lost not its Light: and he gave order for the embarking of his Troops, which were not perished, with the same liberty of soul as before he had done, when he returned Triumphant from the taking of *Thunis*, and from the spoils of *Africa*. The life of *Philip* is a Table much mixed, and a representation of divers formes, and contrary Adventures; On the one side are seen Countries gained or recovered; the Springs of Gold and Silver discovered; Victory obtained against *Christians*, and Infidels, and that incomparable Advantage to govern peaceably, from th'Escuriall, a part of two worlds, and to be feared in the middle of his Cabinet, from one end of th'Earth to th'other. But lets turn our sight a little, and we shall find that this prosperity had frequent and long Eclipses, and that the shadows of the Pictures exceeded the lively Colours. We shall encounter the Death of four wives which he tenderly loved: The fancies of his eldest Son which gave him so much trouble, and forced him to put off the resentment of a Father, to execute th'office of a King, and function of a Judge: The jealousies which the good successe and great virtue of *Don John of Austria* gave him. The defeat of his Ships by Tempests, and by Enemies; The Rebellion of the Low Countries which have deserted *Spain*, and made poor the *Indies*. And amongst all that, and in the midst of that Revolution, and that confusion of Accidents, not to wander, and to preserve his Constancy; It must be acknowledged, that it belongs to such persons by all sorts of Rights, to govern the People, to be Superiours on Earth, and soveraign Arbiters of the destiny of men. Amidst so many good successes and rude experiences, wherein the virtue of *Philip* was not lost, I have made choice of a very remarkable Example; 'Tis of them that enter in prosperity, and be in the favours of fortune,

Book II.

Book II. tune, and th'evidences of Love which she giveth. And therefore 'tis the fairer thac 'tis so rare, and that 'tis more difficult not to be overcome by pleasure, than to resist force, and to prevent bending than breaking. And as a gentle and temperate heat penetrates our bodies easier than the cold, because they expatiate themselves to receive it, and cloze to repell the cold. So th'Allurements of prosperity are more active, and enter sooner into the soul, which by desire, and the hope of enjoyment, goes to meet them, than by th'attempts of ill fortune, against which the soul fortifies her selfe, and defends all th'Avenues by which she might assault it. After then that the *Christians* had gained the battel of *Lepanthe*, and that God had given them that memorable Victory, the price whereof was lost by their ill Conduct; He that carried the news to *Philip*, was so transported above himselfe, and seized upon by so strange an emotion, that with great difficulty could he make the report of it. On the contrary, *Philip* stood as cold as if it had not concerned him, and so little moved, as if the news had been indifferent unto him. He replyed onely with a serious Face, and settled Countenance, *THAT* DON JOHN *HAD MUCH HAZARDED*. From what cause soever this coldnesse proceeded, either from a spirit abated by a long Apprehension, least the battel should be lost, or from a soul prepared for all sorts of chances, and for all the Accidents of life; or else from a Consideration which suffered him not to rejoyce at the glory of an Action, whose principles it may be he did not esteem reasonable enough.

From what cause soever, I say, it proceeded; the view is alwayes fair, and the substance very noble. And I am no more astonished, if the person, who was not transported for a success, which delivered *Italy* from an approaching Ruine, and all *Christendom* from a great fear; received since with an apparent Tranquillity or true Constancy, the newes of the Routing of the Fleet; which had cost him so much money, and ought to have tyed *England* to the Chain, and contented himselfe to say, *That he had not sent his Fleet to fight against the Winds*.

The constancy of Ministers of State, hath this advantage over that of Soveraigns, That the Soveraigns are alwaies pitied in their ill successe, though it happen by their fault; and that Love or Respect which the people bears them, doth discharge them from th'envy of the Losses which they make by their imprudency. On the contrary, they cast upon the Ministers of State, all th'evill of the State, though they are not guilty. They require from them a continuall felicitie,

though

though it be not in their power. They will have them ſecurity for all the chances, though they ought onely to ſecure their Counſels. They make them inſtruments of all their afflictions, and of all their ſufferings, though ordinarily their ſins are the cauſe. In briefe, they handle them in the ſame manner, and with the ſame injuſtice as the firſt *Chriſtians* were handled by the *Pagans*, who took exceptions to them for th'anger of Heaven, and for the wounds of th'Empire, and made them th'Authors of th'Inundations, and of the ſterilities, and of the plagues, wherewith the Nation was grieved. Truly, *Sr. the Cardinal* hath alwaies acted in ſuch manner, that what Countenance ſoever th'Affaires have taken, and whatſoever traverſes the time hath raiſed, he was never aſtoniſhed nor caſt down; He abated nothing of his purſuit; He continually reſpected the Dignity of the Maſter he ſerved, and the reputation of the Crown which he laboured to ſuſtain. And whatſoever happened unto him, & how ſtrange ſoever the Tempeſt was, he reſolved to periſh with the Government in his hand, and to be able to ſay, what *Francis* the firſt wrote to his Mother, after the loſs of the Journey to *Pavia*; *All is loſt except th' Honour.* But his Courage which hath ſhined ſo eminently in Diſgraces, was not effeminated in proſperity, and that magnanimity which he expreſſed in his ill fortune, when it undertook to exerciſe him, changed it ſelfe into an excellent Moderation, and into a moſt perfect acknowledgement of that which proceeded from th'hand of God, and from the fortune of a Prince. Book II.

The Fourth Diſcourſe.

That the Science to diſcover the merits of Men, and t'employ them, is neceſſary for a Miniſter of State.

ONe of the Nobleſt Conditions which formes the Miniſter of State, and the perfection of Adminiſtration is the Science to diſcern other men, and th'Art to employ them: Truly, as our ſoul, how heavenly ſoever it is, and all ſpirituall, hath need of the Body to make its operations: And as God makes uſe of ſecond Cauſes, to govern with them the World, and to renue Nature; ſo a Miniſter of State, how excellent ſoever he may be, hath neceſſary uſe of a number of perſons, to labour with him, and to help him to carry th'Engine of the State, and burthen of Affairs. 'Tis the Pilot that ought to give Motion to all other Officers in the Ship. 'Tis th'head that ought to put in exerciſe th'Armes, and th'other parts of the Body; And as that ancient Captain

Book II. found no Title so glorious, nor Argument more magnificent to make himselfe known, than to answer him who demanded of him, If he was a man of compleat Arms, or an Archer, or a light Horseman; *That he was the person that commanded all these men there.* So a principall Minister of State, ought to have a spirit, superiour to other Officers of State, and not to be ignorant of the Duties of Generals of Armies, nor of the Duties of Judges, nor of them who manage the Treasury. This Condition is remarkable in *Sr. the Cardinal*; and 'tis true, if a man have but one good Quality, he knows how to make choice of it in the midst of many defects, and to discern a Grain of Gold in the midst of Gravel and Dung. The Earth is not more various in its proprieties, nor the Heaven in its influences, than men are in their Tempers and Inclinations. And 'tis an extraordinary thing to find a soul capable of all sorts of good, or a Temper proper for all the functions of the soul; Lets place here some few of its Differences, and of its Proprieties, for the clearing of our subject. They in whom Imagination is predominant, and who have subtil & hot spirits, are very proper for th'*Intrigue*. They are Rich in expedients, and have present Apprehensions which warrant them from surprises, which suffer them not to be confounded, and which resist the first impression of Accidents which have not been foreseeen; and the newness of Occurrences. They speak ordinarily with grace, and express themselves with facility. Their Action hath somewhat, I know not what, that pleaseth, and a certain Harmony which charmes the senses, and glides even to Reason, and to th'Affections of the soul; They are bold to undertake, and for that Difficulties appear lesse to them then they are, or beneath their strength; They cast themselves blindly upon them; they precipitate in stead of walking; And if they meet with a Ditch in the way, it stops them not; either they fall in, or leap over it. They are pleased with Noyse, and love Disturbance; they appear strong in troubled times, and the Confusion of Affaires is their element, and the matter which is proper for them. They do sometimes great things; and 'tis not possible that undertaking much, all should succeed ill. That they encounter onely, if they fail in their choice, Hazard, where th'Election is of no use to them, and that being so seldom wise, they are never happy; They are nevertheless of great service, and of incredible profit, when they fall under the Direction of a wise man, who tempers th'heat by his judgement, and moderates their impetuosity by his Prudence. And as Philosophy observes, That Choller serves for a spur to Virtue, and puts life to it: 'Tis al-

also true, that when these active humours are accompanied with a good Sense, and perfect Reason, nothing seems difficult or impossible to them; But also when they are Masters of their Actions, and Arbiters of Affaires; their Conduct is much to be feared: It is more dangerous then profitable; They cannot commit easie faults, having alwaies great designes in their heads, and they seldom fail of making them, having not circumspection enough, or foresight to avoid them. They that are of a cold temper, and in whom reason abounds, are more fit to govern. And though their Actions are not so glaring and tumultuous as th'others are, yet they are more lively and more efficacious; The common people, who have no understanding but for th'objects of sense, and comprehends but what it sees, and what it toucheth, admires these lesse then the former persons. They are nevertheless of a higher price in the judgement of wise men; and have the same Advantage of them, th'Architects have of Masons; that Pilots have of Mariners; and that they who draw the designs of Pictures, have of them who know onely how to mingle their Colours, and to habit the Figures? They seldom contribute to the fall of States by Imprudency; in so much that the first Law they observe, is, to commit no faults. As the first Inclination which Nature gives us, is to shun th'Evill, and what is contrary to us. They seldom shipwrack, because they know the nature of the Seas, and of the Winds; That they know how to foresee the Tempests, and that they put out in time, and gain timely the Haven; They are fit for War and Peace; they are good to gain, and to preserve: their Virtue is ever present, and there's neither condition of time, nor exception of affaires that hinders them to act, or renders them unprofitable. There are others in whom Imagination may find heat enough to act, if there were drines enough, and if it were not drowned in the Flegme, and in an abundance of moysture which duls and cooles it. And nevertheless they have not the vivacity of the first, nor the prudence of the second. I speak of that high and divine Virtue which resides in the understanding, and in that supream Region of the soul, which is the Guide and Torch of other Virtues, and which chooseth the means of things that are feisable; for as to the rest, they have but an imperfect and diminutive virtue, which is as the Shadow, and a light impression of the true; if *Aristotle* must be believed: Their principall study is to hide their defects, to daube the breaches which they cannot make up; to paint the face, and to deceive the world with apparances of Good, and by po-

stern

Book II. ster Virtues. But in so much that 'tis hard to appear a long time what a man is not, and that a lame person counterfeits to little purpose, when he cannot walk far, but he will be observed; so th'Art of these men is easily discovered, and a little Conversation undresseth that borrowed person, and that Stage-Player; when they are in Imployments, they are secret 'excesse. They keep silence not by discretion, but by feare; and in so much that they cannot distinguish betwixt the things they ought to conceal, and such as ought to be published; They suppresse all, and so betray sometimes innocently th'honours of their Master, and the Reputation of his Affairs. they bring some design and subtilty to all they do, which is that petty and imperfect Prudence, whereof, as I have said, *Aristotle* makes mention. But had he been of our time, he had also known, that as the Alchymists being unable to make perfect the Mettals that are not, change them that are, and thereof make false Money: so also it happens that these subtill persons being not able to conduct their little Artifices, and the disposition they have to subtilty, even to the true Prudence; change it into Jugling, and make an Art of it, which is the slime of humane society, and the poyson of Commerce. They have nevertheless commonly somewhat of good, and were not made by chance; Heaven hath cast some favourable aspect upon them, and they are capable to serve, if they are imployed according to their Forces. If they are not good to deliberate and to resolve, they are good for th'execution of such Orders as are prescribed them; They want not confidence to act, nor compleasancy t'insinuate into the spirits of them, with whom they treat. They are exact to perform their charge, they shun not labour; and though the softnesse of their Complexion withdraws them from it; their duty nevertheless whereof they usually have care, and the vanity whereof they are ever sick, presse them to it, and maintain them in it: That is also the cause that they are not very wicked; That they are not capable of great Vices, no more then of great Virtues. And, if th'Example doth not Corrupt them, or some violent occasion transport them. That they will never be guilty of those black Actions which stain th'Honour, and destroy the Conscience.

There's a fourth kind of Men, who have the soul heavier then all th'others, and in whose Composition Nature hath laid up more of Earth. These men are capable of great paines and long patience; they never yeeld to labour; they never work but to work; they know not what belongs to honest leisure. And that rest which is th'end of th'active

Life,

Life, and which the Philoſophers ſeek for to be happy, is their torment and miſery. They are unapt for Negotiation: But in ſo much that in the midſt of that Maſs whereof they are compounded, they have ſome beam of good ſenſe; and although their Underſtanding makes no flame, it hath nevertheleſſe ſome ſort of clearneſſe; they are not to be deſpiſed; they are not improper for the *Oeconomy*: They may ſerve in an Army to preſſe on labour; to make proviſions for Victuals, and for the like ſervices, wherein the Body hath a greater ſhare then th'Underſtanding, but that they have need of both. Book II.

The Fifth Diſcourſe.

Of a fifth Temper, which comprehends the perfections of all th'others.

TO conclude, There's a fifth Order of Conſtitutions, which a few perſons enter into, and which the world ſees ſeldomer than Miracles: For this, Nature opens all her Treaſures, becomes prodigall of her graces, draws forth her Art, and goes to the very bottom of her power; And as the ordinary Conſtitutions are formed of the ſubſtance of the Elements, and of the hidden virtues of Heaven, which are mingled with Harmony and Symmetry: It ſeems that theſe are compoſed of what others have of moſt rare and pure; that they are Extracts and Elixirs; and that the bodies which are ſo furniſhed, are not Priſons for the ſoul, but very commodious Palaces; nor rebellious ſlaves, but tractable Servants, or obedient Subjects. In effect, As th'Heavens have generall Qualities, and which agree, and enter into ſociety with all the qualities of th'Elements, and of the Bodies which they produced; In like manner thoſe divine Conſtitutions whereof we ſpeak, are proper to all the faculties of the ſoul, and for all the operations of thoſe faculties; There's nothing in them of malignant, nor any thing that hinders; Th'abundance of the memory makes not the judgement poore: th'Action of th'underſtanding doth not leſſen the benefits of the Memory, and diſſolves not its Repreſentations; Memory and Judgement take not from the Underſtanding its edge, its vivacity, nor its preſence; All work there with facility; and that which cauſeth diſturbance and trouble in other bodies, produceth here a miraculous Harmony and perfect Intelligence. Th'underſtanding, as it hath been ſaid, is ſo much Maſter of the body, that it obeyes it without reſiſtance. 'Tis ſupple to all its deſires, takes

Book II. pains as if it were ſtrong, though it be ſometimes ſick and weak; and as if it were born up by th'others ſtrength, or raiſed by its Agility; It holds the body to all ſorts of toyl, and is not over-come by the greatneſs of the labour or continuance of it.

The ſenſitive Appetite is there very quiet; no Motion almoſt doth there ariſe, which is not voluntary either in its birth or duration. The Deſire of glory is the ſole paſſion which makes its ſelfe violently to be felt; and which is ſo imperious, if it be not ſuppreſſed, that it confounds or makes all th'others ſubject unto it, when it is without bridle; 'tis not content to raign over the lower part of the Soul, it will domineer in th'higheſt: She will command Reaſon; ſhe declares that it belongs to her to violate Juſtice with praiſe; She ſtirs up Uſurpators and Robbers of Provinces and Kingdoms; whom ſhe cauſeth to be called Conquerors: ſhe commands the Title of Great to be given *Alexander*, for having unjuſtly poſſeſſed himſelfe of part of the world, and he had a will to have invaded th'other part of it; She cauſeth, that even to Chriſtians, th'Emperours Honour themſelves in their qualities, with the Name of a perſon that hath raiſed th'Empire, to which they ſucceed upon the Ruines of their Country. In briefe, it cauſeth that one is called the *Flayl* of God to colour his Invaſions, and another the Corrector of Princes, and of the Nations of th'Earth. But when the deſire of glory is ſubmitted to Reaſon; when the Soul loves it without being tranſported; when ſhe takes it not for the end of Virtue, but for the purſuit of it, and propoſeth to it ſelfe a ſecond Glory, which is more certain than what Fortune doth diſtribute, and than th'opinion which Men give; There's not a paſſion in the world ſo fair, nor more profitable: She takes away the taſts of all others that are baſe or effeminate: She acquires Imitators of Virtue, and by the preſent or near approaching Recompence which ſhe offers her, renders her more fertile, and more efficacious.

To conclude, The Conſtitution whereof we ſpeak, ſends marks of its Nobility, even to th'outſide, and to th'exteriour, of Man; It imprints there certain Characters, which make him to be reverenced of them, that ſee him. It covers his face with Majeſty; it puts into his eyes a fire, which is more bright than that of ordinary eyes; and gives him, in a word, ſome beam of that Beauty whereof *Jeſus Chriſt* himſelfe hath not refuſed the praiſes; and which, by the means of the ſenſes, makes a ſuddain impreſſion upon the will, and gains, before Diſcourſe be entertained, and reaſon perſwaded.

I will not speak here of the Constitution of *Sr. the Cardinall*, nor of a Good which he hath not done to himselfe, but received it from th'Indulgence of Heaven, and from the Cares of Nature. There are truths which would not alwaies be published; And this season would hardly permit them in his favour, the knowledge whereof depends upon so profound and delicate speculation, since she is ingenuous enough to Contest with him th'Experience of senses, or to change the face of things which we have touched or seen. I suppress then my Judgement in this subject, to accommodate my self to the time, and to th'Inclination which raigneth. I will onely say in Generall, that, as there are Diseases, which are to be discovered by th'encounter of several Symptoms; and, as, for the discovery of Gold which is in th'Earth, there are many signs which ought to appear above ground, & in the Superficies; so you must conclude this high & divine Composition, whereof I speak, by a multitude of great Actions of divers Kinds, & of different Condition, which the same subject hath produced. Let reflection now be made, if there be a mind for it, upon the life of *Sr. the Cardinal*. Let past Governments be compared with his; let it be examined, what the King hath acted since he had him for his Instrument; Let the Greatnesse, the Variety, and the number of things which have been done, be considered: Let the shortnesse of the time be observed, which shuts up all these wonders, and which amazeth th'Imagination of them who have seen them, and will weaken for the future the faith of History; And after that, let every person judge of the Matter proposed, according to his sense or passion; and let him make himselfe voluntarily blind; If he be afraid to behold a Light that offends him, and a Truth that angers him. I will not forbear t'observe, that although *Sr. the Cardinal* in acting, gives somewhat t'Honour; That he is very sensible of the Glory of faire Actions, and is not exempt from a sense which all generous souls partake of; That, nevertheless, hath never changed his Duty, never did wrong to his Conscience, and to the Counsells which he hath proposed. He hath not onely considered the Justice of things, but many times proceeded to Charity, which is so seldom called to the Councills of Princes, and which makes with Convenience, the two extreams betwixt which, Reason of State is shut up. This hath been seen particularly in the Conduct which the *King* observed towards th'*Emperour*, and the *Spaniards*, before he began the War of *Italy*, and had renewed it: but I will speak thereof in another place. Book II.

I return to the first subject of the precedent Discourse, and

Book II. and to make it appear, that *Sr. the Cardinall* in a soveraign degree hath the spirit of Discerning, whereof I have above spoken; I will fix upon some Elections which have been made since he was in the Government.

No person is ignorant of th'Eminency, and of the weight of the Charge of the *Keeper of the Seals*. 'Tis one of the noblest parts of the Body of the State: 'Tis the generall form of the Justice of the Kingdom; 'tis an universal Cause whose Influence is not Circumscribed, which penetrates within and without; which makes its power known near and far, and operates in all places where we have Communication or power. And 'tis of Importance that they who possess it, deserve it; and that they who exercise it, fill it up. And 'tis true, that for that Dignity, the Kings choice could not fix upon a person worthier then that of *Sr. of Chasteauneuf*; I speak not of the splendour of the Family from which he is come, nor of the faculty it hath had to this day, to give Illustrious persons to the state; They are Accidents which are not Proprieties, and Conditions which may fail in Families. And though the seeds of good, grow ordinarily with good blood, 'Tis not to be said that they ought alwaies to fructifie: And though the Spring be very pure, it follows not but the Stream may be poysoned, or become troubled, and taste of th'ill Qualities of the places it hath passed. These Advantages then of birth, and priviledges of fortune, are but incitements to do well by th'Examples of their Predecessors: To render the good the fairer, which they encounter, and to make the Counterpoyse in a promotion betwixt two equall Virtues. But for *Sr. of Chasteauneuf*, he hath no need of the Lights of his Ancestors to make himselfe seen. He is sufficiently observable in himself; besides the knowledge he hath gained. He hath highly that which Nature gives, which is the good sense; He hath watched in Imployments and Negotiations. He knows our affairs, and the affairs of Strangers: He is neither weak nor interessed: His virtue is without Artifice, and th'evill which represents it selfe publiquely, or that cometh more dangerously under the vizard of good, and with its Liveries, is not capable to deceive or corrupt him: wherefore he hath received nothing but what was due to his Services, or to his Merit, and therein the choice of the King hath but followed the publique desires, and the Predictions have been made even from a former Raign. And when it was in Question to relieve th'Island of *Rhe*, and to uphold *France* ready to fall into precipice, there was need of a man that despised Death, and dared to cast himselfe on a manifest danger; who had enough

enough of affection to be willing to perish for his Master, and prudence enough to manage the least Beam of safety that should appear, and the highest Apparance for good to be seen in a deplorable Occasion. But whom could *Sr. the Cardinall* propole, or the King choose, that was more capable for that purpose, then *Sr. of Chombert*? so th'Event did not deceive th'opinon had of the Virtue of so great a person, Th'End of that enterprise exceeded all that could have been desired of good success; Our friends were delivered, and the Rout of our Enemies compleated the Victory, which we sought not but in their retract. After the first passage of *Suza*, could *Montferrat* be trusted, in surer or more esteemed hands, then those of *Sr. of Thorax*? And again, as fortune had preprepared him that Occasion, and reserved him for the defence of *Casal*, and to confirm th'Honour he hath gained in *Rhe*; It seeems also, that by a certain fatality, *Sr. of Chombert* had been destined to go to relieve him the second time, and to compleat the Glory of that Siege by the safety of that place. In those last Emotions of *Italy*, did not the King appear admirable, in the choice of the men which he imployed there? And though Policy permits not many Chiefs of equall Authority in an Army, He understood nevertheless so well to discern the just proportion of their humours, and the necessary Temper to conserve Concord amongst them, that he joyned and changed them to so good purpose, that, it may be, his service was advanced by that plurality, and his Armies were the more happy. Book II.

And when the passage was to be opened for our Troops, for the Relieve of *Casal*, and the resistance of Armies to be forced which opposed it; To whom could that design be more rationally committed, than to them who have executed it? What might not be expected from that Lord, who came into the world, lighted with the virtue of his Ancestors, and Crowned with their Glory? who laboured so much to improve that immortall Inheritance; who is not so absolute in th'Armies he commands by his Authority, as by th'Affections of the Men of War; That Love makes more men follow him in perillous occasions then Duty; who shews to others the way of doing well, and whose example would inspire the strongest passions into the most fearfull souls. *Veillane* and *Carignan* shall be for ever famous by th'effects of their Valour, and by that of th'other Marshal, who accompanied them with his Courage and Prudence; and made himselfe to be no lesse considerable in War than in Peace, nor in the Field than in the Cabinet; Above all, 'tis a thing worthy of Consideration, and a particular mark

Monsieur Mount Moraney.

Monsieur Feat.

Book II. of the Kings judgement, and of the wisdom of his Councill, in leaving the Marshall of Force constantly in *Italy*, and in making that Army as the foundation of our Armies in that Country, and him the Director of the War.

Age which ruines th' Active Qualities of so many other persons, offended not his; old Age, which chills the blood, did not diminish his Valour. 'Tis a habit, which had not in him its Original from th' heats of the Body, but in the lights of Reason; and he was as bold when there was cause, as he was ever wise. His long and ancient experience, and the good sense wherein he naturally abounded, permitted him not to commit any fault; He knew the *Spaniards* too well to fall into their snares, and into a surprise by their Deceits, and with the Companions which the King gave him. There was nothing to be feared, and all good successe was to be hoped from his Conduct.

It must not be forgot, that *Sr. the Cardinal*, considers not onely Merit in the choice of them whom he proposeth, but would also have good Birth, if it be possible; That things may be acted with Glory, and that the reputation of affairs might improve by the Dignity of the Persons who manage them. He is very far from th' humour of a certain King, who made his Physician his principall Counsellor: And from the humour of another, who made his Chirurgion enter into the Councill of State, and permitted the same hands to handle the Seals, which had newly quitted the Razour and Launcet; wherefore the Nobility is more imployed in Negotiations then heretofore it was. They who lead Armies, or help to make War, are called to manage Treaties of Peace, and the suspensions of Arms; And 'tis true, that ordinarily th' affairs do prosper well in their hands, because they are usually bolder in Action, and have the sense, lesse sophisticated, than persons of the long Robe.

The Sixth Discourse.

That a Minister of State ought not to forme his Conduct by the Example of strangers; and that he ought to treat with them after a Different Manner.

THere's nothing so universall in the world, as Diversity, and it seems that God hath affected it, to shew his power by it, and to render Nature fair. The number of Angels, as 'tis said, surpasseth the number of other Creatures. But if the Schools would have believed *St. Thomas*, the diversity of kinds which is amongst them, had equalled the num-

number of particulars, and there had not been in those high and divine Hierarchies two Natures alike; However into- much that they conceived that the Dignity of the living Creatures encreased by the multitude of th'Individuals, which composed them; and that *Philosophy* hath sent back the *Phœnix* to the fables of the Poets, who have sung of him as being alone. The greatest part of the Schools have departed in that sense from the judgement of that Doctor, whose opinions are so often adored by them. Let's go on: The Varieties of bodies which issue from th'Elements were incredible, if Nature had not submitted them to our sense; and if Art did not discover unto us an infinity of Words, which are made of a few Letters; and an infinity of Figures, which are drawn out of a small quantity of Colours; And an infinity of Colours, which are taken out of a small quantity of Drugs. This is not all; The diversity which Nature could not place in Essences, she hath put to the forms which accompany them; what she could not do to the principal, she hath done to the Incidents and Accessaries; and the conformity which is in the faces of men, for to distinguish them from Beasts, is changed by many Marks of dissemblance, for to distinguish them from one another. This Second Diversity proceeds from the first mixture of th'Elements, which enters into the Composition of the Bodies, from the virtue of Heaven, and of the Stars which are therein predominant, and from the quality of the Climate, and of the place which have a great share in the Composition, and in the Constitution of all things that are born. Book II.

That if the Compositions of bodies of the same kind, are so divers for the Causes above mentioned; How much greater ought the Difference to be, which is found in the manners of men, where th'Inclinations of the Body do interveyn, the motions of Reason, Examples from without, and strange suggestions; but above all, th'Inclinations of the Body prevail, and the strength of the Constitution: Reason is very seldom heard, Men live almost wholly by passion, and as if the whole Man were but a lump, the greatest part of them act, but according to that party, and chuse rather to submit unto it, to be at rest, if they can, then to have War in resisting it; and incline rather to peace by servitude than by Victory. Insomuch that a Minister of State ought to take great care not to act by Imitation; not to frame his Conduct by th'Example of strangers, not to follow remote Idea's, and not to suffer himself to be cousened by what is practised in the Government of another State, which he may see powerfull and happy; that if the Physi-

tians

Book II. tians of *Italy* and *Germany*, handle in a different manner the Diseases of those Countries; If the Morall have not an exact and indivisible Medium for the virtue it teacheth. If the Church for fastings and abstinencies, be lesse Indulgent in relation to the people of the East, than of the North; And if all proceeds from the inequality of Complexions, which ariseth in part from the difference of Climates and places: Why should not the same Considerations be received in the Conducts of States; where not onely the Constitutions of men are unlike, and their manners contrary; but their foundations are different, and their policy diverse; And where the Contest brought to maintain them is the more ardent, because 'tis raised under the pretence of generall good, and is upheld by the multitude of them who are interressed, and from publique force.

Lets come t'Examples; The severity which the *Spaniards* affect, and which is conformable to their Constitution, is necessary for *Spain*; and those Melancholick and glorious Spirits, are more stirred up then the spirits of others, by the shame of punishments, and by the hope of rewards. Their Inquisition which appears so dreadfull, and which is so formidable to all other Nations; is one of the principall causes of the peace which they enjoy, and of that high tranquillity wherein they repose themselves. Errour dares not openly appear there: There's no contagion for their spirits: and if there be any remainder of *Mahometisme*, after the forcing away of so many thousands of *Moores*, it lies concealed in their hearts, or passeth not out of Caves and Darkness. They serve not onely against Infidelity, and for security of Consciences. Many Crimes purely civill, which cannot be punished according to ordinary formes, are sent thither, and sometimes innocent persons are there exposed; who are to be made Examples for th'Interest of the State, and to save th'honour of the Prince. The disgrace of *Antonio Peres* is a famous Evidence. That person who had no greater Crime than to be esteemed by his Master, and to have th'assurance of it, after he had been diverse years variously vexed, was at last condemned to th'Inquisition; and if the people of *Saragoca* had not taken him away by force, he had made experiment of the danger of keeping a great Persons secrets, and of being th'Instrument of an Action he would not have known.

The Secretary of Don John *of* Austria, *was killed in the Inquisition by* Philip's *Order.*

But when they undertook to settle in other places that severe Inquisition, 'twas then that the spirits of the people Mutined; That Tempests have been seen t'arise; and that they have run to violent Remedies to hinder them. Heresie enter-

entered into *Flanders* under *Charles* the fifth, and Religion began to be altered there, by the Trade with *England* and *Germany*. *Granuelle*, who commanded there, repaired to the Inquisition, to smoother an evil that seemed weak, because it was new, and began onely to shew it selfe, and to bud. But he spoiled all with that Remedy: and whether he was forced by a good zeal, as is probable; or with a desire to ceaze on the Goods of the discovered persons as he was accused; He caused so many to dye, and provoked so many other persons, that th'Emperour was constrained to suppress that pursuit. The seeds nevertheless of the Disease dyed not, though they were laid asleep,: Th'Ulcer was concealed, but not healed, and a part of the people passed since from Heresie to Revolt, which they have changed with the time into a lawfull Dominion. The *Spaniards* believed also, that the Inquisition after their manner, would secure the Conquest of *Naples*; That it should serve as a Bridle for that untamed Horse; That it would hold that changeable and unstable people under the yoak, and abate the highest heads of that Kingdom, who loved naturally disorders; but they were deceived. And so soon, as *Don Pedro of Toledo* attempted it, *Naples* rebelled, and the people took Arms as for their common Liberty: and if th'Emperour had not taken away that Design; and if the *Pope* should have consented to the proposalls of *Cardinal Caraffe*, they had hazarded the losse of that State, and what they had in *Italy*. Book II.

So soon as *Philip* the second was returned from *Flanders* into *Spain*, he sent divers Heretiques to be punished: He pardoned neither Sex or Quality; He caused the Effigies of *Constantine Pontius*, the last Confessor of his Father to be burnt: He Commanded *Bartholme*, Arch-Bishop of *Toledo*, to be arrested; This Proceeding astonished all the world; And if that Prince did not spare the memory of him, who held in his Arms the dying Emperour, and received his last Breath; nor the chief Prelate of the *Spanish* Dominions, and who was heard with Admiration in the Councill of *Trent*; And if he protested daily, that he would bring Wood to burn his Children, if they were Heretiques: What grace could be expected from him by nocent persons? There's no question, but that severity hath preserved that Country from Heresie, and made impressions on the people, whose nature is circumspect, and seeks safety in all their undertakings.

And as to th'Example of the Prince, and that by his Advice, endeavours have been used to exercise the same proceedings in *France*. The same success hath not been encountred; whether that the Remedy was unseasonable, or that our humour

Book II. mour is uncapable to submit to force: It seems that the door t'Errour was opened upon that occasion; Many to whom new things were odious, were lost by the Curiosity to know what the Doctrine was for which so many persons did run with vehemency, to death, and suffered with joy. That vain Image of Constancy amazed weak spirits, and them that knew not, That the Justice of the Cause, and not the Rigour of Torments made Martyrs, imagined that they could not cheerfully perish, but for the Cause of *Jesus Christ*. Severity then is not good, but for the speculative and fierce humours, as the *Spaniards* are, who consider alwaies the future and the consequence of things. To whom gentleness appears Cowardize; who neglect them that flatter them, and make themselves to be feared of them who make discovery of fear. It acts also powerfully upon the fearfull and Coward people; as they of th'East, where th'heat of the Air dissipates that of the Body, and dryes up excessively the spirits which are th'Instruments of Boldness and Courage; so Monarchies have taken their beginnings in those Countries, the people being easily reduced under the power of a single person; and *Ottoman* had no labour to make slaves of them whom he subdued, nor to banish liberty from his Dominions, as the greatest of all Crimes.

On the contrary, Gentleness is proper for the governing of the *Germans*, and other people of the North. They are enemies to all force; There's not a Chain which weighs not with them, though it be necessary and just. And th'Abundance of heat and blood inspires them with undaunted spirits, which makes them resist all sorts of Domination, if it be not in their hands. Wherefore they would have all persons governed by Common wealths, or at least have no Kings which should not be Elective and subordinate to their Authority. And for that reason also, 'tis very easie to make them revolt against the Church, because it was their Mother; and to make them hate the *Pope*, because he was their Superiour. Insomuch, that I do not think that the death of seven and twenty Lords, whose heads were cut off after the battail of *Prague*, and that bloody spactacle which they boasted of to *Germany*, procured so much terrour, as it raised hatred against th'house of *Austria*, and the *Spanish* Government. And I do not believe that the manner of nourishing the War which *Wallastein* introduced into that Country; The rigour of the Contributions there raised; Th'oppression of the Towns taken, or of them that obeyed; have so much assisted the Victories of th' *Emperour*, as they have disposed that people to Insurrections. And if the prosperities

of

of the *King of Sweden* continue, that they may cause a strange revolution, and destroy those violent Conquests which have neither foot nor root. At the end of th'Account, I do not see that th'*Emperour* hath made other Advantage of those great Emotions which lasted so many years, than in avoiding the Ruine that threatned him; nor that he became the richer for making such an infinite sort of persons poor, nor that he did other thing, then impose a necessity to keep alwaies on foot a dreadfull Army to make them affraid, or to see his greatnesse decline, or to give over th'Ambition of rendring himselfe Master of *Germany*, and of reducing the people to a totall deficiency, from whom he could not take any away, the will to rebell. As to the zeal which he hath expressed to holy things, and as to th'exercise of that Religion which he re-establisht in all places; 'Tis a work whereof th'Apparance is very plausible and Christian. Yet insomuch that all that is but without, and that souls give place to Armes, and obey not the truth; 'Tis to be feared that such a Reformation will fall in the change of th'*Emperours* fortune; and that Heresie may more dangerously overflow than it did, if it ever recover impunity, and its first License. Book II.

To further confirm what I have said, I will make use of th'evidence of the *Spaniards*, who confess that the *Duke of Alva* was too blame, t'employ gentlenesse to gain the *Portugals* who were onely to be overcome; And that it was to make them worse to flatter them in subduing of them. On the contrary, that severity lost the *Flemmings*, and that the floods of Blood which he there made to run out, the more provoked the rebellion, and gave pretence to disobedience, to shew it self, which had been till then modest, & irresolute. Gentleness then in generall, is proper for the Conduct of the *Northern* people, and severity for the *Spaniards*, and them of th'East, for the aforesaid Reasons. They that are under a temperate Climate, as the *French*, and whose Complexions are tempered by the clemency of th'Heavens, and the scituation of Country, have also need of a moderate Conduct, and of such a temper of Justice as takes impunity from vice, and renders it not alwaies to the Culpable, desperate.

Upon what hath been said, 'tis easie to judge, that it is not alwaies safe to act by Imitation; That th'Example of what is practised in a Nation, is an ill principle for the Government of an other Nation; That universal propositions are dangerous in the publique. And t'establish generall Rules to be observed of all People, and upon all occasions, is to fit the Robe

Book II. Robe of Fables to all the States of the Moon. 'Tis to give the same form to two contrary natures; 'Tis to range under an equall measure two different Quantities. And that a Minister of State may the better comprehend this truth, which is very Important; Let him know, that except some most generall propositions, which are in the practice of affairs, as th'ultimate principles of the Metaphysiques in the Sciences, There' none that is not disputed and contradicted; which hath not reasons and examples to favour it, and which are contrary to it, as I have elsewhere shewed; and therefore ought either alwaies to be followed, or alwaies to be rejected; Let's see it by Experience, and discourse in passing by of th'use of severity and gentleness, since we are upon that subject.

They who advise that a *Prince* should rather make himselfe to be feared, then loved; and that Rigour supports a Scepter much better than Easinesse of Manners, and Indulgency; may at once say, That though it may be true, that soveraigne Authority is equally preserved betwixt the feare and love of the people; That nevertheless the means which gives birth to the first of these two passions, are more certain then those that engender the second: That their operation is more infallible, and that good Deeds act not so certainly upon the spirits of men as punishments; That 'tis alwaies in the power of them who have Forces in their hands, to make themselves to be feared. But that it is not in the power of them that are good to make themselves to be beloved. That men love, voluntarily and by Election; but fear for the most part of necessity, and in spight of Reason, and against the resistance of all discourse. That for all times, The Corruption of Mankind hath been such, that it hath had more need of Justice for to subsist, then of the goodnesse of its Superiours; That, the State of innocency is very rare in the world; but that of Repentance is common, and in continual use; & that the Governours have been alwaies more exercised to heal Diseases, than to preserve health, and the good condition of States. That in a word, The Nature of the people, is to fear much, and to love little; but nevertheless that they love not the Reigns under which they live: That they are never content with their present Condition: That they are sensible onely of the memory of things past, and hopes of the future; And that ordinarily the dead *Princes* are their delights; And though sometimes they may have Love for their Masters, and that their Inclination therein accompanies their Duty; There's no passion that changeth so easily in their understanding as this;

And

And whether the Manners of Princes change and degene- Book II.
rate, or that they are disguised and falsifyed to th' eyes of their subjects. There's nothing so easy as to passe them from Love to Disdaine, and from Disdaine to Hatred, and to Revolt. The Life of *Henry* the third, is an illustrious example of this Truth; and th' Inconveniences wherein he fell after he had attained the Crowne, make it appeare what foundation is to be laid upon the will of the people, and upon th' inclinations of that beast which stirrs, as 'tis thrust; and which, after it had adored the Duke of *Anjou*, persecuted the King of *France*, and dared to make War with him.

On th' other side, it may be said, that no Emperour is surer, nor power better established, than that which is founded upon Love: And 'tis certain, that things are conserved by the same causes, and with the same meanes which give them birth; there's also no doubt but that the Soveraigne Authority is the firmer, when it is supported by the good will of the people, from whence it took its Originall; In the second place, no violent thing is durable, Its proper force consumes it, or some other that resists it, and which is greater: And 'tis true, that every sort of Chaine, save that of Love weighes upon the spirit of man; and that every sort of yoak, if it be not voluntary, oppresseth it; To conclude, to raigne only by severity, is to renounce the peace of the spirit; 'tis to charge upon himselfe the passion given to another; 'tis t' expose himselfe to an eternall necessity of distrusting all persons, and to make them Enemies whom he would not suffer to love him, for fear of not being sufficiently feared; 'Tis to fall into the same mischiefs which traverse jealous husbands, and in over-straining his subjects to be faithfull, to give them a will to rebell, and to quit their obedience, which would not be trusted to their vertue and to their inclination.

To the first, Answer may be given, that severity alone conserves very ill the power of a Soveraigne; and that t'employ violence against th'evills of a State, 'tis to use nothing but passion and fire against all the Maladies of the body, and every sort of Ulcers. That if great persons sometimes have affected an austere and hard humour, and seem thereby to maintain themselves in Authority; That effect nevertheless proceeds from another cause: And, insomuch that that terrible conduct hath not been alone, and was found in the Company of many great vertues that have tempered it, It hath not done th' evill it was accustomed to do. This was observed in the life of *Torquates*, of *Marius* of *Sylla*, of

Book II. *Corbulon*, and of many others of the Ancients; And of the Moderne, in the Life of the Duke of *Alva*, of the Marquels of the Holy Crosse, who left such cruell Markes of his Humours in the *Terceres*, of the County of *Fuentes* and *Wallstaine* of this time who was so absolute in th' Armies, he commanded, that the name of the Emperour was but th' Image of the Soveraigne power, He exercised; If these great persons, I say, had known onely how to command the setting up of Gallowses, and to send men to death, they had not been followed by their Souldiers, in the occasions of glory; and they had been unknown to us, but as examples of Misfortune, whereinto severity doth precipitate.

It may be also answered to the second, that Indulgency is a Means, as little safe as facile, to give power to raigne, or to compell obedience; that if the first men of the past and moderne ages, seem to have neglected severe wayes, and th' Examples of Rigour, the better to subsist in the spirits of their subjects, or of their souldiers; 'Tis that in effect, they had extraordinary Qualities, and I know not what of admirable in their persons, which appeared in their face and countenance, and inspired respect with love into the souls of them who came neer them, such were *Alexander*, *Scipio*, *Cæsar*, *Germanicus*; such, *Gaston* of *Foix*, *Don John* of *Austria*, *Ferrant Gonsalve*, and the two last Dukes of *Guise*, whose single presence bewitched the world, forced the wills of men in spight of Reason, and constrained their Enemies to change their passion or to suspend it at the sight of them.

From this discourse I draw two Instructions, which may be applyed to th' other matters of Policy. The first is, That for th' use of gentleness and severity, a generall Rule cannot be established, that in this as in all other actions of prudence, Resolution must be taken upon th' Occasion; Consultation had with the nature of Affairs; with the condition of the times; with the Quality of the persons; and leave the disposition of th' event to fortune, and t' other causes which are without us. The second, That although the difference brought of th' inclinations of divers people, requires for the most part a very different application of the Means, which are to be used for governing of them; so 'tis that as in the *Oeconomy* of th' humane body, and dispensation of th' humours which compose it, there's of course one that predominates, and which serves for a law to Physick, and for a direction to health; yet that hinders not, nevertheless, but that 'tis necessary sometimes to keep under that commanding Humour, and that predominant Quality; To raise o-

thers

others, alter their order, and change the courſe of certaine Occurrences, and according to the nature of the diſeaſes which happen or threaten. 'Tis the very ſame with the Humours of the People and Complexions of States. There's a certaine Conduct which is as naturall to them; but, it ought not to be inviolable. A Miniſter of State ought not to be a ſlave. He may quit it, provided that he doth not abandon it; and may reſume it; and a Miniſter of State is ſometimes conſtrained to go out of th'high way, t'avoide an ill paſſage or an Ambuſh. There are people who are to be retained with Rigour, and whoſe obedience is not aſcertained, but under a ſevere Empire. But that ought not to be eternall; 'Tis good ſometimes to gaine them and not alwayes to ſubdue them; To bend them, and not alwayes to break them; and occaſions doe happen wherein 'tis of neceſſity to flatter them, and to ſtroake them for feare of affrighting them; leſt they take the Bridle in their teeth, and Carry him away, that ought to Lead them. Book II.

The Seaventh Diſcourſe.

That a Miniſter of State ought to treate in a different Manner with ſtrangers, as they are powerfull and free.

A Miniſter of State ought not onely to conforme his conduct to th' inclination of the people which he governes, or with whom he treats; But he ought alſo to adjuſte it to their power and to their weaknes; He ought t' Imitate that wiſe Phyſician; who conſiders as much the ſtrength of the ſick perſon, as the virtue of the Remedy; and ſeeks the proportion of that which actes, with that which ſuffers. There are States, whoſe Greatneſs is in themſelves: which ſubſiſt upon their owne weight: which can paſſe-by all others: which have very little to feare from without, and can hardly fall but by their owne weightineſs, nor periſh but by the Corruption within, and by the vices of the noble parts. Such was th' Ancient Republique of *Rome*, after that ſo many Nations had ſubmitted unto it, and that there remained nothing in the world wherewith to fill up th' Ambition of one of its Citizens, nor ſufficient to make him Great enough without the Ruine of his Country. Such is alſo at this day the Empire of th' *Ottomans*, whoſe body is ſo dilated and power ſo vaſte, that it ſeems, that nothing ought to affright the Head but the Members, nor diſſolve the Maſſe, but its owne Parts; There are others, whoſe Extent truly is not ſmall, nor forces inconſiderable; But which

Book II. which have nevertheleſſe need of forraine Aides for to ſupport them; To fortifie themſelves with Alliances; To frame Leagues; To make uſe of diverſions. In ſhort, to repaire with Induſtry what of force is wanting in them, either for reſiſtance or enterprize. There are Princes who ſubſiſt onely by the Conveniences of their Country, and by the benignity of its ſcituation: Two great powers betwixt which, It is ſhut up, and to whom it ſerves for *Barriere*, are in perpetuall jealouſie, that th' one or th' other will make its Accommodation of it, & there's nothing that they would not do to hinder them from the change of Maſter, and from ſubmitting to a Domination by them ſuſpected; This paſſion of State hath been th' originall of great wars, which have been ſeene in *Piedmont* ſince a hundred yeares, and of ſo much *Spaniſh* and *French* blood as hath been ſhed in that Province. There are others, who have quit themſelves under a voluntary dependency upon a greater power, or by reaſon of ſome good turne received, or to be delivered of the Expence from diſturbance and from feare, which the Neighbourhood of a greater brings, when he is no friend, which is ſeldome but to their Advantage; ſo, he is in ſome ſort the Maſter of the petty States, which he protects; without *Citadelle* and Garriſon he Commands them; and he receives when he hath need, conſiderable ſupplyes of Money and Men.

There are others who are under a forced Dependancy, and are become Captives without thinking of it, who have given the matter of their Chaine; and furniſhed the Stuffe, whereof the yoak was made that oppreſſeth them: Covetouſneſs hath precipitated the *Genoueſes* into this unhappineſs; That villanous paſſion hath forged their ſervitude: The Money which they have put into the hands of the *Spaniards* hath betrayed them, and by an Inverted order, the Creditors put themſelves to the Mercy of their Debtors: They cannot now unſay it; they have given them pawns and cannot recover them, and which they will not ſuffer them to looſe; A ſingle free thought cannot enter their ſpirits; They dare not accept th'aid of them who would redeem them from their Captivity; and being ſlaves to their Money, they muſt of neceſſity be to the Men who keep it for them. On the other ſide, 'tis a pleaſant way of gaining a State that which the *Spaniards* have practiſed towards the *Genoueſes*; It was never doned ſo good cheape, in other places; All others have coſt them ſomething; if the Great Duke be obliged to the defence of the State of *Milan*, they have rendered unto him the fortreſſes of the *Teſcane*, and given him *Sienna*. If the Prince o

Parma,

Parma, ought to furnish them with Men and Money for the same subject, He hath received also the Citadelle of *Pleasance*. But here they onely tendred th' hands to take the Money which hath been voluntarily brought unto them; They enjoy it and are the Masters of it; In leaving t'others the vaine Name of Creditours: and if sometime they give them somewhat by may of profit; even that returnes to them and resembles the water of Certaine Fountaines, which by a constrained Motion being forced out of its reserve, returnes thither by a Naturall motion, and by a necessary fall. Let this be said in passage. Book II.

To conclude, There are States which are not conserved but by reason of their weakness, and in regard they are so inconsiderable; that they deserve not the violation of Justice in a Conquerour, nor that his Ambition be rendred odious for the desire of them: such is the Common-wealth of *Ragouse*, which is so little, that to this day it hath not provoaked th' Appetite of the *Turk*; & so poor, that almost all its Revenues is laid out, to feed the great Persons of the family of *Porte*, and to serve for entertainment to the *Sangiacs*, who are their Neighbours. A Minister then of State must know, That every sort of State requires a different Conduct; That th' one ought not to serve as Example to th' other for Government; and when any business is to be had with them, that they are to be treated withall according to their Power and Liberty. Whilst the Common-wealth of *Venice* was in disorder with *Paul* the fifth, and that Christendom was divided upon that Quarrell, the Common-wealth of *Genes* fell into almost the like Inconvenience; This nevertheless did bend under the will of the *Pope*, And having cast it selfe into a shamefull servitude, was carefull to performe such Actions as might deserve the Name of a lawfull obedience; and that *Spaine*, whose Aide it wanted was but too much carried to dispose it, to raise a prejudice against *Venice*. On the contrary, *Venice* remained inflexible in its pretensions, because it had power to maintaine them, and pursued the business to th' End, that the Liberty which it had not received but from God, and wherewith it was borne, might not be weakned. The designes then of the *Pope*, which prospered for *Genes*, were vaine for *Venice*; and th' Inequality of those two states could not admit of the same Remedies, though they laboured of the same Evill, and of the like Accident.

The Eighth Discourse.

That a Minister of State ought not inviolably t' act that which hath been always practised in the State.

HE not only acts safely, who formes not his conduct upon that of strangers, nor treats equally with two unequall powers: But a Minister of State is farre from what he ought to be if in the State where he acts he tye himselfe servilely, to what hath been done before him? If he dare not go out of the beaten Road: If he have no other marke then th' example of them that have gone before him; If he will alwaies walk upon their paces, and adore only their foot-steps. No comparison was ever more naturall or report more just, than that of th' humane and politique body, Th' Oeconomy of th' one may serve for Model to th' other; They are both subject to the same Accidents and to the same Symptomes: Both of them have ordinarily the birth weak, the progress proud and rapid; the subsistence trembling, and the fal precipitated. And nevertheless, each of those ages requires a different Regiment, and a Conduct altogether diverse. These considerations also have place in th' Ecclesiastique State, and in the government of Soules. And though its foundations be eternall, and that 'tis built upon an immoveable Stone; Though this Barke cannot perish nor make Shipwrack; Though the Doctrine be infallible: that hinders not, but regard being had to the manners of particular persons, but that some alteration may often happen in it: That Compliance must be made with the time; sayls shifted according to the nature of the winds which blow; Relaxation from the severity of discipline, and much submission to th' inclination of the people; Miracles have founded the Church, and th' Holy Ghost aydes it with his protection; But it requires also that the prudence of Prelates should interpose to govern it. Reason is not banished, provided that it remaine subject to Faith; and the Truths which have been proposed to us all naked and with the sole Authority of signes, are not declared unto us by the Councills, but after great inquiries, and answerable consultations.

And nevertheless Prudence requires, that, in the Conduct of soule, what is best in it self be not so much considered, as what is most conformable to them; That a violent subjection be not imposed upon them, for fear least the yoak being made too heavy, it give a desire to shake it off. Heretofore the Churches Arms were very dreadfull, and the greatest

Princes

Princes tremble at the Noyſe of th'Thunder of *Rome*; The Prudence of Paſtors, who made no unlawfull uſe of their powers,& th' opinion had of their ſanctity; cauſed that they who were threatned, held themſelves at that inſtant culpable,and that they had even fear of unjuſt excommunications: But as there's nothing ſo good, which man doth not abuſe; nor any thing ſo holy which his Malice or fragility doth not corrupt; It hath hapned that in theſe latter ages,have been ſeen great alterations of Manners in Paſtors,and great abuſes in th' exerciſe of Juſtice: There was no fault of *Boniface* th' eighth,and of *Jules* the ſecond, which did not paſſe the bounds of the Spirit, which confines their power, and inſtead of opening the Kingdome of Heaven whereof Jeſus Chriſt had left them the keys, endevoured to take away th' Intereſt of Lands from their true Maſters, and lawfull poſſeſſors; Beſides that, the too frequent uſe of Excommunications, and th' application thereof to matters of nothing; The Sciſmes of the *Popes*, which have vexed the Church, and cauſed many perſons to take up Arms, who ought to have been governed by a ſingle perſon. All this is the cauſe, that they are now leſſe reſpected then they ought to be, and make not ſufficient impreſſions of terrour upon Chriſtian Souls. In effect, There's nothing that ſo much conſerves the reverence due to Holy things, as the Rarity, nor that vilifies them more then to render them popular; Thoſe things principally which are of an Order ſuperiour to the body, and whoſe effects are not ſenſible,and reſpect another Life then this; have need of theſe precautions, that they may be wholſome. Inſomuch that 'tis to miſunderſtand it, to draw a conſequence from time paſt, when Eccleſiaſtique Diſcipline was in vigour & the conſciences of Chriſtians docile,when there was nothing but heate and flame among the faithfull;when obedience was generall, and that ſuperiours had not ſo much uſe of a Spurre to provoke the love of virtue,and to the purſuit of good; as of a Bridle to retaine, and to hinder th' exceſs by th' impetuoſity of Zeal. 'Tis ill done, I ſay,to draw conſequences from that time to this preſent time, when not only Heretiques change the Truths received, but Atheiſts aſſault the Principles of Faith and the Foundations of Religion: In the diſpenſation of Eccleſiaſtical puniſhments, The Prelates and the Soveraigne chief of the Church, ought not to decline th' end, for which God left them the power t'impoſe them: Inſtead of building they ought not to pul down, nor deſtroy a whole body in cutting off a periſhed member and ſick parts To conclude, There's nothing that Superiours, ſpirituall or temporal Book II.

Book II. temporall ought more t' avoid, nor wherein they ought to be more difficult, than in putting their Authority to Reference, and to make Lawes that are not observed; 'Tis t' offend against the forme of what they are, and 'tis much better to suffer Evills, and to Tolerate abuses in a State, then to discover its wants of power in not correcting of them, or manifest its weakness in contesting too much to surmount their Resistance. Truly, since *Sr.* the *Cardinall* hath had the power of Administration, it cannot be said, That th' Example of strangers hath put us out of our way, nor that we have lost our selves in following our predecessors, and for not daring to be bolder, & wiser than they. This great Minister of State hath so well known the Nature of th' Ill we laboured of, and our Boare; and the Remedies have been dispensed with such due proportion, and equality, that the defect hindered not the operation, nor th' excess sharpned the disease; The sweetness which the King used towards the *Rochellers* when they were not in condition any longer to resist his forces; The grace which was afforded to Criminalls, when they were in his power; and the Clemency he exercised when he might have used Severity, without blame; and have made examples of Justice which could not have had any ill consequence, nor dangerous revenge: On th' other side the Comportment at *Privas*, and that sad spectacle which seemed to have been procured by some superiour providence, To supply, it may be, the too great humanity of the King, and that of his Ministers of State; The Manner of hearkning to the propositions of accommodations not to make the culpable desperate, and to press the War, and hasten victory; To take from them the means of expecting any thing from time, which is th' hope of unfortunate persons; Th' industry which *Sr.* the *Cardinall* hath added to force; Th' Art he hath used to sow division, and to convey distrust amongst the Rebels: He divided their Interests, and hath made them weak for want of Union; The assaults of his Eloquence, and of that divine faculty, which hath so charmed the Hearers, that all the passions that nourished Rebellion were quieted; Th' hottest Motions of defyance they had for us, were stayed; The most opinionated could not but consent to what we would have; and the most valiant durst not seek their safety in Arms but in Obedience, and subjection. Moreover the most scrupulous observation of promised things, and that Legall, and new proceeding wherewith fears were not only allayed, but their hopes were surmounted: That, I say, hath reconciled all their spirits; hath rendred the victory perfect and firme in gaining

the

the wills of the Conquer'd; hath cut off the laſt Roots of Rebellion, and finiſhed the work which had been ſo often begun, and as often deſtroyed by ill Fortune or by ill Conduct. Book II.

If the King would have believed th' old Miniſters of State, and the wiſe perſons that had Governed in other Raignes; He had never aſſaulted the *Hugenots*: He had not offended a party his Father feared, nor touched that Frame which ſtirred not but by ſhakeing the Pillars of the State, and the foundations of *Monarchy*; Inſolency, ſaid they, muſt be ſuffer'd t'avoid Felony; and Lenitives applyed when ſharp Remedies were mortall.

They never Concluded for warre but when it was made to them. Th' End of our Armes was not for Victory but Peaces. They did not embarque to ſayl, but to return to th' Haven from whence we were put out; They could not endure toſſing at Sea; and were they in a ſmall Boat or in a ſhip of Burden they would make for the Land; In the mean time the fire of the Revolt was not put out; The ſprings of diſobedience remained full, and if they were ſtopped for a time from Running, they ſwelled and became great, & overflow the ſtronger, into another Channell. In a word, the King had alwayes Companions in his kingdome; and at moſt the Subjection of Halfe the *French*, conſiſted in ſharing his powers with Him, to leave him the name onely of a Soveraigne.

If the Maxims obſerved during his Minority in Relation to his Allies, had not been changed nor; more Courage expreſt than when the *Spaniards* ſtript the *Duke* of *Savoy*; If our Reliefs had been as faint, and fearfull, as they in that time; and if we had as much feared three Powers as they did one; What had become of *Monſiur Mantove* and of our Reputation? The Liberty of th' Holy Chair had been weakned, and *Italy* in a Chain. They had ſuddenly been over the ditch of *France*, having there nothing abroad more to take; No perſon would have more truſted us; And at this day, we ſhould not have been the Protectors of the weake: we ſhould be the forſakers of th' afflicted. To conclude, if *Sr. the Cardinall* ſhould have had onely in ſight, the Example of our *Fathers*, and their wiſdome; The deſigne of Navigation ſhould have been onely in *Idea*, and we had not ſeene the Progreſſe of a thing whoſe Beginnings aided ſo much for the taking of *Rochell*; and without it, the greateſt States were never but halfe Powerfull, nor but halfe Rich.

The Ninthe Discourse.

That the Counsells of Strangers ought to be suspected by a Minister of State.

A Minister of State ought to suspect the Counsells that come from abroad, what shew soever they make of good, and what pretence soever of God-will they Cloath themselves withall. Let them take it for certaine, That the greatest part of *Princes* have neither hate nor friendship but for Conveniency, and have no passion but what their Interest gives them; And therefore no Friendship is so dear to them as the least of their Affaires; That there's not a Parent whom they will not turne out of a great Good, if he be never so little Dammageable to them; whom they will not sacrifice, if it turne to their profit; and expose them to th' uttermost Mischiefe, if it be for their Accommodation. The faire passions of Resentment for good turnes, and of Acknowledgment, are th' expressions onely of Particular and of Vulgar persons; They are seldome born amongst Princes. 'Tis a Traffique, and not a Commerce of friendship, which is practised amongst them; The lawes of Merchandize enter much easier into their Treaties, than the lawes of Philosophy; Interest is the sole bond that ties them. And insomuch that reason of State learnes not to do well Generously, 'tis no wonder if they know not ordinarily either to owe handsomly, or handsomely to acknowledge. In a word, there's but little Counsell given by Strangers, whose spring is not tainted, and which is not corrupted either by th' Ambition of the most powerfull, or by the jealousie of Equalls, or by the fear of Inferiours. Great persons endeavour to catch Inferiours in their Nets, or to do their business at their Charges; They engage them in their Quarrells, and forget them in their Accommodations, or interesse them in others Men's, to keep them under in ayding of them, and retaine the securities they had seised under Colour of defending them; Equalls would be very glad to withdraw themselves from Concurrence; To gaine th' upper hand, and not to serve for Counterpoise in the forces of the others, nor obstacle to the Greatnes whereunto they aspire; Inferiours are alwayes in fear of great Persons when they are ambitious, and look upon them as Monsters, from whom they expect to be devoured. They cannot have good will for them, whom they distrust; and they raise no Altars nor offer sacrifices for them, but as th' *Auncients* did to the Plague and to a Feavour

Feavour to be preſerved from an Evill which they feared. Book II.

In the begining of the Civil diſcords for the Matter of Religion, and when the new Sect ſevered them from th' obedience due to the *King* whom it had withdrawn from th' obedience due to the Church, *Philip* the ſecond cauſed *Katherine* of *Medicis* to be advertized by *Manique* his ambaſſadour, that *It concerned her much to take great care not to flatter th' Evill, or to come to any Compoſition with it*; That lenitive Remedies were Mortall; and that Rebellion and Hereſie were to be purſued by the ſword and fire. I doubt not but the *Councill* of *Philip* had th' honour of God for their End, which was offended by that new Doctrine, and th' intereſt which was Common to him with all th' other Princes, Not to permit diſobedience in the States of other Princes. But in the choice of the Meanes he propoſed t' oppoſe that Evill and to fight it; 'Tis certaine that He conſidered not ſo much the Effect it would produce, in *France*, as the Good the low *Countryes* would receive by it, where the Contagion was already entred; He would make us ſwallow the Medicine for the purging of his ſubjects. He thought t' aſtoniſh the culpable of his Countrey, by example of the Juſtice, which ſhould be acted in ours; and take away the heart of Hereſie, when it ſhould ſee it ſelfe ſo ill handled in other places, and be taken every where for th' hatred of *Princes*, and horrour of the people. Lets obſerve here, upon occaſion, That the Prince whom they called the *Solomon* of his Age hindered to his power the *Flemings* from taking Religion for the pretext of th' Inſurrection they ſtudied, and th' Impatience they had to riſe; He ſaw clearly that they who had ſo often quarrelled their Princes being preſent, and could never Love but the race of them; would hardly containe themſelves in their Abſence, and permit the Domination of ſtranger Governnors. But he judged alſo that it was eaſie t' order the people that Mutined when th' engaged not God in their Revolt, and oppoſed not the Command of providing for their ſalvation, to that of obedience to their ſuperiours. T' avoid that, he accords them all their demands, though they were unjuſt: He takes away the *Spaniſh* Garriſon wherewith they ſaid they were oppreſſed; He conſents that the Governours of ſtrange places ſhould be Natives of the Country, and named by the States. He remits the *Cardinal Granuelle* to the *Franche* County whoſe perſon was odious unto them, and Conduct inſupportable. In brief, for the love of them, He overthrows the functions of Soveraignty and choſe rather to receive the Law from his *Catholique* ſubjects, than to be conſtrained to give it to the *Heretique* Rebells. But he knew

too

Book II. too late the Nature of the people and their diseases; And as 'tis sometimes good, when th' Appetite of Novelty is appeased, which vexed it, and tired with its owne disorders, To bring it back with sweetness; To give it liberty to retire from Evill with some shew of Reputation, and to seem lesse Culpable then It was; That nothing but force can reduce it, when it begins to shake and is full of fancies of the future and of hopes of Change: That to flatter them is to lose them, when they are in that Humour; and 'tis then that they make themselves to be feared, when the least Evidence of feare is discovered unto them: Th' easines of granting the first demands doth furnish them with boldness to make new ones; The desire of evill is increased in giving them powers t' execute it; and at last, 'Tis found, that instead of a weak and irresolute Mutiny as it was, A powerfull enemy is made, and an Irreconcilable persecutor. I handle this Matter very particularly in the second part of this work; So 'tis that *Philip* fell into th' Inconveniency, which he had a designe t'avoyd, and he saw Religion perish, and his Subjects of the *Low Countries* to rebell, for not using seasonable Remedies, which might have wrought, if they had been applied in season; in employing Severity and Gentleness in counter time, and in making too much or too little use of th' one or th' other; It may be also that there was of Fate in th' Accident of that new Power, and that God suffered it to rise in opposition to the *Spanish Ambition*; and to stop, with so small a thing, that Torrent which threatned th' overflow of all his Neighbour-Countryes.

Our Kings also, under whom Heresie hath risen, have spoiled all in following violent Counsells; They have allwayes either strained too much or slacked too much: And, as if they had been carried with Contrary windes, They never knew, how to take the Medium, nor find the temper betwixt an Excessive Rigour, and a too Loose Indulgency. The shamefull Peaces, accorded in divers times to th' *Huguenots*, sad *Edicts* made in their favour, declare cleerly what spirit acted in *France*; and that there was no need of fighting Battails, nor of the burning of Townes, for to put things in the State they were before the warr. On th' other side, the violent designes, and bloody Resolutions which were taken t'ill purpose, have been the fruits of *Spanish* Counsells, and of *Italian* suggestions; Th' impatience which some had to see our Miseries finished, have retarded the Cure in making too great haste; And th' hopes which others had to make profits of them, hath been the Cause that they enflamed more, and prepared a long and new Matter for our Discords, which were of Advantage to them.

The

Th' Execution of *St. Bartholomew* is a work of their ſpirit,& they glory that their King had a particular hand in it, and that the Duke of *Alva* did adviſe it in his journey to *Bayone*. I will not diſcourſe of the nature of that Action, which found even Catholique ſpirits divided, and their opinions different to approve or condemn it; Th'Incertitude wherein they alwaies were, in what manner King *Charles* concurred; whether by pretenſion, or by a pure deſigne, and the particular reſentment of a *Prince*, which ingaged with the Zeal of publique good; are the cauſe that no judgement can be made thereof, but what may be dangerous or raſh. I ſuſpend mine alſo, to reſt me upon the ſucceſs which was not conforme to th'Hopes were had of it; And were it that we knew not how to make uſe of our advantage; or that th' Election of the Duke of *Anjou*, for King of *Polonia*, loſt the fruits of the victory that was at hand; or that God would not bleſſe an Action wherein it was preſumed, that the publique Faith, whereof he was alwaies Protector, was violated; We have ſeen the Fire the more kindled, which they thought had been put out by that bloud-letting; and pretence given to cruelty, to be animated againſt the Catholique bloud. Book II.

The Cardinall of *Lorrain* alſo, made a great wound in the State and Church, in being promoter of the diſcourſe of *Poiſſy*. After he had been ſo contrary to the Proteſtant Miniſters. The perſons being of obſcure birth, and their Lives charged with faults; who had been ſhaken by many Declarations and Edicts; who had ſo often ſhun'd the Light for to ſave themſelves in dark places and in Woods; who had deliberated upon the Doctrine they publiſhed: To bring forth I ſay this people to a day ſo glorious as the Cardinall had made it, to draw them to ſo famous a Combate, and to give them the meeting in the Field, where they had him for Adverſary, and the King and the Princes for Spectators; It muſt be confeſſed that he was much too blame, and that it was to paſs too dangerouſly from one extream to another. He ought to have believed, that it was a means to cheriſh them in Errour that were ſhaking, and to confirme them that were irreſolute: That that Honour would exceſſively ſwell their heart: That it would give them a greater Opinion of their perſons and doctrines, than they had before and would put thoſe proud ſpirits into a condition never to Renounce the propoſitions ſo ſolemnly debated. He might have believed, that no jealouſie is ſo violent as that which we take, in favour of our Opinions: And for the matter of Sect, that comes into the World; Th'

Book II. Authors ought to be gained before they are publiquely declared; or else they must be destroyed.

But when they had overcome the first encounterd resistance, and that apprehension which the greatnesse of their Enterprize gave them; and that the uncertainty of the success was ceased; The disease must take its Course of Necessity; Hope and fear are weak Remedies against it, and Man labours in vain, If God doth not shew himselfe with a powerfull Arme to defend his own cause. The example of *Luther* was fresh in memory, and the causes of the miserable Schism in *Germany* known to all the World. So long as *Luther* did only Hazzard his Doctrine, and had no other designe but to cast out his spight, and revenge the wrong he believed was done to them of his Order [for not permitting them to preach, as they were accustomed, th' Indulgencies, in the *Duchy* of *Suxe*]; It had been easie to have reduced him: But after he had conferred with Cardinall *Caietan*; That he had been heard of *Charles* th' Emperour, and that *Leon* the tenth had fulminated against him; He changed the passion; Vanity succeeded choller, and th' honour to have to do with so great persons, renders him irreconsilable. In vaine after, the Messengers of *Paul* the third indeavoured to sweeten that sharp spirit: In vain, did he represent unto him th' evill would happen, in overthrowing the peace of the World for a doubtfull beliefe; And in vain did he offer him *Red Hatts*, and the first dignities of the Church for the price of his conversion; All that, moved him not; That ambitious man could no longer submit after he had contested with *Cardinals*, *Emperours*, *Popes*. And after he had been made equall to them; He could not believe himselfe great enough, if any person were above him. This digression may seem affected, but it wilbe nevertheless profitable: Lets return to our subject. 'Tis then true, that 'tis almost an inevitable necessity to receive or demand, Counsell; But 'tis an extream disgrace not to be able to resolve of ones selfe, and to distinguish betwixt anothers interest and the good of our affairs. Behold other Examples: *Peter of Medicis* whose imprudence and misfortune made him famous in Story; tooke Refuge at *Venice*, after he was driven from *Florence*. *Charles* th' Eighth, who was the subject of his disgrace, offered also to be the cause of his Restablishment, and in restoring him to his first powers, to assure himselfe of the *Florentines*, who were so necessary for his Italian designes; He advised him then of his Intentions, and tendered him his Aid for that purpose. *Peter* consults the Republique, and demands what he ought to do. The *Senate* who had jealousie of *Charles*'s stay in *Italy*; who would not have

have him take Root there; who had it then in consideration, how to send him beyond the Mountaines, and to release by Consequence *Florence*, which was the breast of his Army, and of his Interests; dissuade *Peter* from casting himselfe into th' Armes of the *King* to gaine his Returne. They represent to him the danger of imploying so great a Mediator; That it would more inflame the hatred of his Country-men against him, and that they conceive the *King* would sell the grace he should procure him, and oblige him at the Charges of the Common Liberty; So with these Reasons, whose apparance was specious, and with the promises they made him to labour his returne, The designes of *Charles*, and th' hopes of *Peter* were frustrated. Book II.

The *Venetians* who are so industrious to counsell others, and who for th' opinion of wisdome they have gained in the world, are sometimes Consulted with, even from th' uttermost Confines of *Asia*; Take no Counsell from others but for Conveniency; nor otherwise, than, as an Evidence of th' affection of them that give it; All the *Powers* of *Europe* were interessed in the disturbance of th' Interdict; The *Christians*, and the *Turkes*, the *Catholiques* and the *Protestants* did engage, and there was not a Prince which made not offers, or gave advice to the *Republique*; Nothing of that nevertheless could shake it. She stood immoveable in its proper Resentments, and never wandred from her End, whatsoever was proposed to the Contrary. I do not think it can be said, that Counsells from abroad have acted amongst us since *Sr. the Cardinall* hath been in the government, nor that forraigne Infusions have seduced us, since He governed. I do not think that it can be reproached to this Great Minister of State, That the Gold of our Neighbours hath put out his eyes, t'open his heart to their suggestions; nor that their subtlity hath Caused them to unty the Tongue to discover the Kings designes, and the secrets of the State; Heretofore they governed in our Counsells, though in the posture of third persons. They have there proposed their opinions by *French*-Interpreters; some of our Ministers of State were but bodies assumed, to which their spirits gave Motion and language; And in regard they were venall persons; no man need wonder, If they were for them that would give most, and by Consequence their's; since they never found too high a price for the Purchase of the fidelity of the subjects of other Princes.

But t' assault with these base temptations a Person who would not make use of all the Just wayes of getting wealth; who had so often refused to search into the Coffers, which his Master opened unto him; who made scruple of receiving

Benefits

Book II. Benefits from a *Prince*, which were offered him. T'avoid the gathering of the ſpoiles of an unhappy perſon, and oftentimes Hazarded all his Meanes t'aſſure ours. There's no reaſon for it.

Beſides, that Intereſt which hath been ever powerfull in *France*; The feare that hath been long entertained of provoaking Neighbour forces, hath often ſpoiled our Affairs or weakned our Reputation. For feare of diſpleaſing them, a pernicious Compleaſancy was exerciſed in favour of them; their propoſalls were harkned unto with too much reſpect; They durſt not break their Deſignes with force; they were diverted by Treaties, and interventions. And inſomuch that we had not Courage, to act with them as Equalls; They took the boldneſs to treate with us as our ſuperiours and Maſters. A ſtrange Maxim that poſſeſſed ſome ſpirits, to permit in private all the tricks of a Mutinous faction, under pretence that we wanted power to repreſſe it, and to ſuffer the *Spaniards* to do a part of what they would do abroad, t'avoyd diſorder with them; and leaſt th' hatred of that formidable Nation ſhould be added to the ſpight of diſcontented perſons, and to the diſturbance of Rebells. It was upon this Principle that they ſuffered the *Duke of Savoy* to periſh, and that the frontiers of the State of *Milan* were enlarged to the foot of the Mountaines; It was upon the ſame principle, that Affronts were permitted to be done to the *Venetians*; That they have ſuffered a perſon to triumph with their veſſells, as a Conquerour, who had taken them, onely as a Pirate, and whom they forced t'eſcape into *Gradiſque*, and conſerved that place to th' houſe of *Auſtria*: In ſearch whereof, they have formerly conſumed a part of their treaſure, and thirty thouſand Men without taking of it. 'Tis by reaſon of this principle alſo, that th' *Hugonots* complayned (whether of right or wrong is not for me to judge) of the Breach of the peace of *Montpellier* to the prejudice of the *King's* Intentions. And that they who made it to ſuppreſs another *Caballe* which could not ſubſiſt but by the Continuation of the warr; had alſo broken it t' accommodate th' humour of *Italie* and of *Spaine*, where ſome murmured, that a party was ſuffered to Live, which, as was Imagined, might have been ſtiffled. And others were angry for the remiſſion of our Evils, and for the Interruptions of our diſcords, which they would make perpetuall. How ever, It was, that breach, whether true or pretended hath been the beginning of the moſt dangerous warre, which as yet we have had in the State; and the Miniſters of State, which ſucceeded had received (according to the Cuſtome) the ſhame of the faults

faults of their Predeceſſors, if they had not the Virtue to repaire them. Book II.

But *Sr.* the *Cardinall* entred with Counſells as bold as diſintereſſed; He knew the power of our Neighbours, and the forces of his Maſter; He conceived that all his Maſter's forces were not to be imployed againſt them, ſo long as they held theirs divided in divers places; which without queſtion they will alwaies do, till they ceaſe to be Ambitious, or become Weake.

And therefore upon this Infallible Principle, the King hath beaten down all that did ariſe in his Kingdome againſt his Authority, and hindred the great perſons abroad to grow great at the Charges of the leſſer; and of th' Allies of *France*.

The Tenth Diſcourſe.

How Adviſes from Rome, *and from the Mediation of the Pope, are to be entertained.*

WHat I have ſaid in the Precedent Diſcourſe reſpects only the *Princes* manifeſtly intereſſed, and whoſe intentions are ſuſpected to their Neighbours, by reaſon of ſome irregular paſſion they labour under. A conſideration apart muſt be made of the Adviſes that come from *Rome*, and Interventions of *Popes* in th' affairs of other Princes; But inſomuch as that dignity which regards onely the ſpirit, and th'hopes of th'other Life is joyned in time to a temporall power, wherewith it is not incompatible; It hath alſo hapned, that they who have beene provided of both, have caſt themſelves on other Intereſt then thoſe of God, and mingled the Zeale of the ſalvation of Souls with the paſſions of th' Earth. And as 'tis ſeen that Man ſuffers himſelf to be raviſht with th' Objects of the ſenſes, and acts not but according to th'animal faculties, though he have ſpiritual and divine faculties. In like manner ſome *Popes* have been ſeen to forget the functions of the Chiefs of the faithfull, in addicting themſelves wholly to the functions of the Princes of the World; and place Ambition and Avariee in the Throne of Holineſſe; Moreover ſome perſons have been found who by intereſſed deſignes or with an indiſcreet heat have endeavoured to over-ſtraine the tem-

Book II. porall greatneſſe of *Popes*, and for ſome reaſons of complyance, attribute unto them more juriſdiction over *Catholique Princes*, than God hath given them; they have by that means blown up the Courage of ſome of the *Popes*; They have made them t'aſſume unreaſonable pretenſions; They have cauſed that boldneſſe in them, to trample under their feet the Crowns of Soveraigns, and to march upon their Heads, who acknowledge God onely to be above them in temporall, Juriſdictions. From thence are borne the Quarrells, they have had with divers Princes, and chiefly with th' *Emperours* of the *Weſt*; from thence have been kindled ſo many Warrs in *Germany*, which have paſſed into *Italy*, and brought deſolation to all *Europe*; From thence, were formed thoſe famous factions of *Guelphs* and *Gibelins*, which have divided the Fathers from their Children, which put Schiſm into Families; which made Citties to be burnt, and Provinces to be plunderd; and held the World in combuſtion for a Quarrell which was not that of Jeſus Chriſt. The doubtfull pretenſions, or leſſe cleer, which ſome *Popes* would paſſe for indubitable, have occaſioned that they who were intereſſed, have maintained their Rights with the more violence, and with leſſe reſpect then they ought; and did caſt themſelves into extreamities in a Cauſe, which moderation might have made lawfull.

But moreover, When a *Pope* either by his proper Motion or by the ſuggeſtions of Juglers and Flatterers, wherewith ſometimes they are infeſted, hath aſſumed a Right he had not, though his deſigne hath not proſpered, and that he hath encountred impediments, which have ſtopped his courſe; ſome indiſcreetly zealous Authors have been found, who ſet forth his Action for a Title, t' entitle the ſubſequent *Popes* to that Right, and to re-ingage them in a Quarrell which ſhould be made as ſtrong by their own Authority, as by that, wherewith they ſecure themſelves by reaſon of the preſcription, and that it hath the favour of time. From thence it ariſeth, that they are very ſenſible of what they conceive to touch them; that there's ſo much ſeverity at *Rome*, for what concerns them; and when that matter enters into th' Affairs which are treated with them, or into the Negotiations which their Agents mannage, that great Circumſpections are there to be uſed; Th' Eye muſt be open to all things, and to tread with addreſs and lightneſs upon ſo ſlippery a Pavement.

I will place here a long conſideration, but profitable, and that ſhall enter without Violence upon the ſubject in hand. The wealth which hath been given to the Church for the glory

glory of God, and for th' Ornament of that fair Hierarchy, which compoſeth the Myſticall body of *Jeſus Chriſt*; hath had in many of their members an Effect contrary to their End. The Soveraigne Shepheards themſelves whoſe Lifes are the Lamps of the Goſpel, that it be not hid under a Buſhell; have ſometimes given ſcandalous examples in this matter; Their Manners have not ſhined, but to lead into precipices; They have betrayed the bounties of Honeſt Men, and converted the Monuments of the Piety of the *Conſtantines*, of the *Pepins*, and of the *Charlemaignes* into inſtruments of Ambition, or of ſome other paſſion, leſs Honeſt: And as all the motions of the ſoul, when they are irregular, and that imagination in ſtead of diſcourſe doth governe them; enter into a wilderneſs, and find no object to confine them, no bridle to check them; So the wealth of the Holy Chair, though it be great, hath been little to ſatisfie immoderate deſires, and the too vaſt deſignes of ſome *Popes*, and to furniſh th' exceſs of their Expences. That hath obliged ſome of their Agents, who burnt with a contrary paſſion to ſeek out extraordinary Means for Money; and to have recourſe to violence and ſacriledges, being unable by lawfull Expedients to ſatisfie the Prodigality of their Maſters, or their perſonall Avarice; They have not only ſet impoſitions, and ſubſidies upon their temporall Subjects as other Princes do; But they have alſo abuſed what was moſt holy in Religion; They put to ſale the things that were above Price; They have ſold the merits of Jeſus Chriſt; and ſold to children what came from the Indulgency of their Mother. Beſides this, the venality of Offices, which ſome *Popes* have permitted to be introduced into the Court of *Rome*, and that Spring of Rapine, which hath been ſtopped to th' uttermoſt of their power, in all well poliſhed States; The greatneſs of their kindred which ſome have procured with too much heat; The Warrs wherein they did embarke themſelves to ill purpoſe; The ſumptuous buildings and the too proud goods: In brief all that furniture, which was ſeen at *Rome*, of things which were not invented but for vanity or for pleaſure, and whereof the moſt unprofitable were the moſt precious; All this, hath raiſed an ill opinion of the dignity of th' Order in many who cannot diſtinguiſh it from the Perſon, nor make a difference of what was of Gods Inſtitution from what proceeded from the Corruption of Man. The face then of the Court of *Rome* ſo notoriouſly defamed hath cauſed ſome to confound it, with that of the Church, though they are two very different things; That they applyed the ſpots of th' one to th'other that had none at all, and have revolted

Book II.

Book II. volted against the *Holy Chair* because they could not suffer the vices of the *Pope*. Th' Authors nevertheless of this great Attempt have not sinned of ignorance, and were not carried thereunto by the zeal of th' honour of God. They knew well, that the Licence of Manners is not incompatible with the purity of opinions; That the Will may follow Evill though the Reason doth not approve of it; and that the same Authority which forbids us t' imitate the deboshes of Pastors, commands us to respect their doctrine, and to hold us in the way they teach us, distinct from the myre they are fallen into; But they were put on, by other Motives. Avarice and Spight animated them against the dignity, to be revenged of the persons that possessed it; Instead of stopping at th' abuses they exercised, they assaulted the power which God had given them. Instead of pruning the branches, they would cut down the body, and take away their Neighbours Life, to hinder him from Doing ill. And as those Creatures who draw Poyson from Flowers, and Simples, whereof men make perfumes and Medicines; Instead of admiring the care God hath for his Church, in hindring it from spoyle in the midst of corruption, and to sinke in so violent tempests; They have severed themselves from her and have indeavoured to cut the bands of the Members and the Head; and t' abolish that divine dependancy, which makes a regular body, as Dissolution makes a Monster.

God also hath raised many great persons to fight the designs of the Revolted, and to revenge th' injury done him in destroying, what was of his Institution, for the vices of Men; and in judging of the virtue of the Sacraments by the goodness of the Priests; and the force of the work, by the merit of the workman: But as 'tis hard for th' humane spirit to observe moderation in its designes, and that it be not transported in the pursuit of good, for which it hath passion. It hath also happened, that they who have runne to the Relief of th' *Holy Chair*, have truly prospered in that defence, and repelled th' imposture of them that have assaulted it; yet all have not stayed there; some have passed their bounds, and being pressed with too much heat, which the love of truth had inspired into them; have not only supported the spirituall power of the *Pope*, but have also attributed unto him a temporall which was unknown to th' Apostles; unheard of, in the Primitive Church; which gives jealousie t' other Princes; which hath not to this time edified, which hath destroyed much and made Schism to enter into those States which had been Catholique, the space

of

of many ages. And inſomuch that they who have been raiſed to this Supream dignity, which ſevers them from the Community of men, are nevertheleſs men, & ſometimes have common inclinations; There's no wonder, if ſome of them are glad to ſee their Authority extended, To ſee themſelves made more powerfull then they thought to be; that the light which doth ſurround them is greater and diſperſeth its Ray, further then they did imagine; and if they are eaſily perſwaded to a thing ſo conformable to their deſires and to the moſt violent appetite of reaſonable Nature which is that of Domination. Inſomuch, that 'tis not only true that the change of Fortune is ordinarily accompanied with the change of Manners, but alſo ſometimes of Opinions; That it diſorders all the powers of the Soul; That it alters the diſpoſition of th' Underſtanding, after it hath changed that of the Will. And ſome *Popes* have judged more favourably of the greatneſs of the *Holy Chaire*, when they were in it; they they did before, when they were but ſingle *Cardinals*, or in ſome lower dignity. Wherefore in ſubjects, which look either directly or obliquely upon th' *Holy Chaire*, A Miniſter of State ought to be very circumſpect: He muſt ſlide upon that Pavement, if he muſt paſſe upon it; If he be conſtrained to touch upon ſo delicate parts, Let it be done with a ſubtile and light hand, and that he do not pierce too deep, if it be poſſible, into a matter wherein it will be hard not to be offended, if he do not offend. Above all, that he ſtay alwaies in the bounds of Reaſon, and in the bounds of Juſtice. That he take nothing away from another, but that he permit not, any thing to be taken away from his Maſter; That his imprudence, or ſoftneſs do not occaſion any prejudice for the future to the State, and that he remember the proceeding of *Charles the fifth*, when he came into *Italy* to be Crowned *Emperour*. The *Legates* who were ſent to receive him, prayed him that he would ſwear to do no wrong to the Liberties of the *Church*, nor injure the *Spouſe of Jeſus Chriſt*; He anſwered, that he would ſwear neither to alter the rights of the Church, nor the pretenſions of th' *Empire*; *That had an aſpect to the Citties of Pleaſance and of Parma, which the one pretended to be a Fiefe of th' Empire, th' other of the Holy Chaire.*

Book II

Truly, *Sr. the Cardinal* behaved himſelf ſo well in Occurrences of this nature, that the Rights of the Crown and Dignity of th' *Holy Chaire* have been inviolable, in his hands; That nothing but Juſtice held the Ballance, that he gave to God and *Ceſar* their due; and maintained equally the Quality of a Miniſter of State, and of a Prince of the Church;

Book II. He is not ignorant of the Temper which ought to be betwixt a blind Zeal, and Licenſe ſcarce Catholique; He knowes the way was to be held betwixt theſe two precipices; He knowes how to ſaile without ſtriking upon the Rocks; He cannot wander for want of light; He hath a moſt profound knowledge of Holy things, and of the things of the world; and the *Sorbone* admired him as their Ornament, before it did reverence him for their benefactor and protector.

Wherefore he took care not to ſee with other Mens Eyes, as others have done, or to Move with the paſſion of ſtrangers; So no ſoul alſo was ever leſſe prepoſſeſſed then his; or more direct in its apprehenſions; There's no Irregularity in the functions of his powers, and with exception to the Commerce of Faith which is alwayes priviledged, the Will gives not its opinions to th'Underſtanding, but receives its heate, and affections, from his diſcourſe and his Illuminations. Wherefore 'tis eaſie to judge how imprudent the Calumny of them was, who aſſaulted him during the Negotiation of *Cardinal Barberin*, or a little after. *Rome* did not complaine of Him, and th' *Holy Father* knew well that the neceſſities of State, and th' hidden Cauſes of its *Conduct*, do not ever permit; That to the zeal of honeſt Men, all be given that they would have. None then but ill *Frenchmen* have complained, or ſtrangers that hate us; and to whom Pretences are good, when Cauſes are wanting to them; That cry us down who are incenſed againſt us; Thoſe black Manifeſts alſo, and thoſe violent and ſharp Writings which *France* hath ſeen, have done no hurt to the Reputation of this Great Miniſter of State. They have reſembled thoſe ſtinking Vapours which are exhaled from Mooriſh Grounds, which evidence cleerly the Corruption of the place, whence they come, but infect not the Sun againſt which they ariſe. They have given themſelves the Lye, by the things that have happened. The time hath inverted them upon their Authors. They have ſeen that Delinquent of th' *Hugonots* faſtned invariably to the Ruine of all that was rebellious in that party. They have ſeen *Rochell* fall in part by the cares of that *Cardinall* of *Rochell*, They have ſeen Hereſy humbled by that Great polititian, and reduced under the Common Right and Generall Obedience, as well of Obedience as of Opinions to his Mode: they have ſeen what he dared in th' Affaires of *Monſieur* of *Mantove*; what he undertook t'aſſume the Liberty of th' *Holy Chaire*, and to what he expoſed himſelfe for the Love of that *Rome*, which by imputation was deſpiſed by him; They have ſeen, that neither th' open force of Conjured perſons, ſtrangers; nor the great Reſiſtance of ill diſpoſed

Frenchmen

Frenchmen; Barrenes nor the Plague could hinder the *King* from being the Liberator of *Italy*, as He hath been the Restorer of *France*. Book II.

But how hath the Prudence of that Great Minister of State shined in the Dispute of th'Authority of the *Pope*, which had been awakened some years since amongst us? How dexterous hath he been in the Manadgement of a Matter so dangerous? How very happy in laying dead that Quarrell which shall ever be fatall to *Religion*, and which cannot be deterred but by opening the dore to Schisme? He alone found th' Expedients to pacifie the *Sorbone*, which was in Tumult on that Subject. To re-joynt the body which was torne in parts; To reduce opinions, too much flattered; To content the *Pope*, and to preserve our Liberties and the Rights of the Crowne. This action was so necessary, that without it our Affaires had never taken a Course so advantageous as they did, and so difficult, that I dare affirme, It could not have been done but by a principall Minister of State, by a Prince of the *Church*, by a great *Theologian*, and excellent *Polititian* altogether.

The Eleventh Discourse.

Considerations upon the precedent Discourse.

WHat I have said in the Precedent Discourse is not to Condemn the wealth of the *Church*, but to blame them that abuse it; Nor, to conclude, that she is not ever the same though she was born poor, and that she is now rich; That Charity is diminished: That the Manners of the greatest part of particular persons is Degenerated; and that their Lifes are contrary to theirs, who were the first of the *Faithfull*. 'Tis ever the same face, though the good Graces are not the same, and the Colour is gone; The figures remaines; The features and proportions leave it not, and 'tis still the same Soul which gives it Life; Tis alwayes the same River though its water is sometimes troubled and sometimes cleere, that it flowes at one time and ebbs at another. The Channell is permanent, The spring is fixed, and its Course tends alwayes to the Sea which is its first Originall. There are in Religion, things, of an eternall Substance; and there are, that may suffer Change and Alteration. And as the beginnings of Nature are alwayes weak, and perfection comes by degrees into her works; so that which issues purely from th' hand of God is usually perfect, and if it stay not in that state; Tis the fragility of Man that alters it, and the necessity of the Condition that makes the Change.

Since

Book II. Since God determined that great Designe of the purchase of men, and that he would be th' End and Meanes of their happiness; It was Convenient, that the *Church* which he should establish, should be born poore. And, that the world might know it to be his work; It was necessary that she should be raised by Meanes, contrary to th' ordinary; That she should triumph over Riches, in her poverty; over Greatness, in Disdaine; and over the Wisedome of th' Age, in the Ignorance of humane things: Otherwise truly, if it had come in Abundance; If its Entry into the world, had been invironed with Glory; and the doctrine which she brought, perswaded by the ornaments of *Rhetorique* and subtiltyes of *Philosophy*; It had been under jealouzie with us: No person would have been astonished at the progresse It hath made in so Little a time: and that it being come out of a Corner of *Palestine*; It had passed in an instant to th' uttermost Bounds of th' Earth, and penetrated even to a world severd from ours; No person would have thought it strange, that Covetous Men should run after wealth; That Ambition had followed *Pompe*, and that Eloquence plaid with the Credulity of simple persons. That famous Impostor, who hath found so many followers and whose Errors entertaine, as yet to this day, two thirds of our world; had been alone, if he had been poor; and had never deceived the people if he had not subdued them. It was then necessary, That Religion truly divine, had the markes of the Principle from which She proceeds. That she comes Contrary to the Rules of Prudence and establishes her self by that which ought to destroy her. But as she hath the Love of God for her End, and Charity for her Neighbour, and that chiefly it ought to distinguish the disciples of *Iesus Christ* from the rest of Men; 'Tis from thence happened, that the first *Christians* carried their Lands, and Goods, to the foot of th' Apostles, and stripped themselves of the propriety which did belong to them; to make it Common to their brothers. A permanent stock nevertheless of those offerings was not made. They did onely passe, and were shared in Measure as they were received, and as in proportion the Faithfull had occasion. The flames of Charity since growing by the Number of Converts, and the Goods which were daily offered to the Church being extreamly increased by that Multiplication; It was judged expedient to preserve the stock, and that the distribution of the Revenue might serve to maintaine the Pastors, and to relieve the poor. This order was introduced even in the time of th' Apostles, as we may conjecture, or a little after. In conclusion, the stock which made a great

summe

ſumme was divided into proportions, & the portions aſſigned to them who ſerved the *Church*, and conſtantly applyed to other uſes, and without being any more mingled or Confounded. This order hath laſted to our time; And how holy or unlawfull th' uſe of the goods of the Church hath been in th' hands of particular Men; 'Tis at leaſt not to be doubted but that the Charity of the Givers hath been precious before God, and their zeal extremely meritorious. But moreover I ſay, that after the Golden Age of *Chriſtendome*, and that very happy time wherein they onely knew *Jeſus Chriſt* crucified; and when from the Poverty and Abjection of the faithfull, Miracles were ſeen t'ariſe: It hath not been Inconvenient That the Church ſhould be rich. And ſince for the future the ſupernaturall meanes which have founded it, ought to be in great Eſteem with Men, God hath alſo Conſented that the Church ſhould draw wealth from abroad; Advantages which ſhould render it the more Venerable; and hold the people who regard not much more then th' Exterior, and are not moved but by th' objects of ſenſe, into reſpect that is due unto it. Book II.

But with Riches, they ſay, a thouſand Evills paſſed into the Church; Vanity and delicacies put themſelves into the Throne of virtue: The Charity of our Fathers is become the food of the profuſion of our Nephews, and the poor dye for hunger; whilſt they that ought t'ingage their Lives for them, leave them not their Subſtance. To this I anſwer, that although they are vitious Eccleſiaſtiques, becauſe they are rich, and that in many the Licenſe of Manners growes from th' Abundance of Goods; It followes not therefore, that the Church ought to be robbed: That this is common to them with all good things, to be expoſed t'ill uſage in th' hands of wicked perſons. That the Sacraments are not to be aboliſhed, becauſe there are Men that commit ſacriledge; That God doth not deface the beauty of Nature, becauſe it ſerves for an occaſion of ſin to the weake; and no perſon is bound to pul out his Eyes when they are unchaſte, and are raviſhed by forbidden Objects and diſhoneſt Curioſities. There are Church-men ſpoiled, which would have been honeſt Men if they had not been rich; And there are whoſe Life is full of Edifying & of exemplary Charity, whoſe virtue would be concealed in poverty and unprofitable Holineſs. Poverty and Riches are of themſelves a Matter without Form; They are ſuſceptible of Contrary impreſſions; They may receive the Figure of Good and Ill, and neither of theſe things hath any Merit, if Charity doth not raiſe it. But the number is ſaid greater of th' Abuſes of Riches in the Church,

Book II. than of them that make good use of them, and the intentions of them that have given them is oftner perverted than executed. To that I also answer, that, It being supposed for truth, it follows not that the *Church* should be made poor; That God suffers th' iniquity of sinners, and the vices of the World, for some virtuous Actions, that are therein exercised; That he makes his Sun to shine upon a multitude of wicked, for a small number of Honest men that serve him; that he had forgiven six thousand culpable Persons, if he had found Ten innocent persons in *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*; And in the deluge which swallowed the World, if there had been in it ten just Families, He had not, it may be, made that great Example of Justice; So, both th' order of things, and conduct of providence perswade us that Riches ought not to be banished from the *Church* for th' abuses at whose birth they serve for an occasion; since they are the cause of a number of good Actions which are thereby done; That they serve the best of virtues which is Charity; and 'tis certain that returning to the hands of secular persons, they would be more dangerously imployed, and would cause more ill, and less good, than in the hands of Ecclesiastiques.

What concerns the purifying of th' Ecclesiastique Order, and to restore it to its first beauty, and its originall innocency, 'tis a thing easier to be desired than done, and which is not neither the worke of a little time, nor of the common force of men. It were to leap from one Extream to another. To pass suddenly to such a severe Reformation; It were to put new Wine into Old Vessels, and to sew New Cloath to a torne Garment, (following the parable of our Lord): And in driving away of Devills, the custome whereof had taken away what was most offensive which is the scandall; To introduce greater, by filling their spirits with sharpness, and the World with Tumults. Th' Alteration is so generall, th' Interests of temporall Princes are so confounded with the interests of the *Church*, and the greatest part of men so fastned to their present condition; That it would cost God lesse to raise the Dead, than reduce things to the state of their birth, and bring back all Christians to to the Aunc ent Discipline. It sufficeth, That in what state soever the *Church* is found, every person may find salvation there, If he will; and that out of it, none can avoid Damnation; 'Tis nevertheless true, that as 'tis to purpose, that the Miracles where upon the *Church* hath been founded, be sometimes renewed; and that the belief of things past be confirmed by some present Signe; so though the Ecclesiasti-

call

call Order hath received ſome ſtaines, and loſt its purity in ſome of its Members; God alwaies raiſeth ſome good ſouls which without forſaking of the Church, ſever from the corruption of particular Men, and expreſſe in their lifes the Image of that great Virtue, which appeared, at the birth of Chriſtianity; and which was common to the firſt faithfull perſons. Book II.

Conſiderations upon the Behaviours of Popes and their Agents which may ſerve for forewarnings to the Miniſters of State of other Princes, who ſhall have occaſion to treat with them.

THough the following Diſcourſe might have been handled more commodiouſly in the ſecond part of this Worke, where I ſhew at large how a Miniſter of State ought t' act with Strangers; Nevertheleſs, to keep ſuch matters together which are beſt underſtood, when they are joyned, and not to weaken the light they draw one from another; I will place here at one time, what I had to ſay upon the ſubject of *Popes*, and upon the precautions wherewith their adviſes ought to be received, and they and their Miniſters of State treated withall.

I ſay then, that although the *Popes* of the firſt ages, had only very pure thoughts and affections of fathers towards Princes who were their Children; Nevertheleſſe ſince they have aſſumed another Quality than that whereby they repreſent *Jeſus Chriſt*; That they have mingled th' Intereſts of the *Church* with them of the World. And that the Crown they carry hath as many Diamonds as Thorns; Some of them have been found to have a Zeal very unlike to that of the firſt *Popes*, who have followed other motions, then th' effects of that Vertue which makes no Acceptation of perſons; Who have burnt in the paſſions of the World; From Shepheards (as they ought to have been) were changed into Wolves, and have ſometimes made Abomination t' ariſe even into the Sanctuary; And not to go out of the two laſt Ages. *Alexander* the ſixth; did he ever diſcover any other paſſion to the world then that of, making great his Children? was there any meanes refuſed to gaine that end? did he not for the love of it abuſe, prophane and divine things? Did he not break all the Lawes of Chriſtianity? all of nature, and all the rights of humane ſociety to make his ſecond Son to Raign? Briefly, Treaſons, ſecret Murders, Poyſonings and perjuries were his Manners and Habits; If Hiſtorians may be believed. Let's paſs to *Jules* the ſecond, ſucceſſor t' *Alex-*

Book II. t' *Alexander.* His Life indeed was not so black nor his conduct so Criminall as th' other's was; He was nevertheless possessed with so furious an appetite of making Warre; and with so violent a desire of extending th' Ecclesiasticall revenue, That he suffered not *Italy* nor other Princes to rest; and he could never find that peace, which God gives and the world gives not, because he sought it in the midst of Armes, by Ambition, and in Tumults. Th' heat wherewith he persecuted *Lewis* the twelfth, and the pretext he furnisht *Ferdinand of Castile* withall to usurpe *Navarre*, will deliver his name for ever with an ill Character to the French, and his Memory odious.

Leon the tenth had excesse of passion for his Relations, whereof many *Popes* have been sick. The prodigalities used in their behalfe; The goods of the *Church* he not only gave them, but ponred them out upon them with full hands, and exhausted them without measure: And the Present he made his Sister of the profits of th' Indulgences, which should be preached in the *Duchy* of *Saxe*; were the petext of *Luther's* Apostacy, and the cause of the Schism in *Germany*, and of the Fire that hath burnt the North. What did not *Clement* the seaventh for the greatnesse of his House, and to secure the State of *Florence* In the Family of the *Medicis*? How often did he quit for that designe that indifferent and free spirit which *Popes* ought to have? And how compleasant did he make himselfe to th' Ambition of *Charles* th' fifth, t'enter his Nephew into his Alliance; and to make him Duke of *Toscany*? what did he not in love to the Marriage of his Neece, *Catherine* of *Medicis*, with the Duke of *Orleans*? Insomuch that if his Life was unfortunate, and agitated with great Tempests; It may at least be said, that his last dayes were serene and faire; that he gained the Haven in Triumph, and that he dyed full of the prosperities of his House he so much desired; The same defect also hath been observed in the Life of *Paul* the third, and his Vertue, which otherwise was very pure, had that stain That he procured with too great violence the greatnesse of th' House of *Farnese* whence he issued, and did too much apply himself to th' humour of *Charles* th' Emperour to put his Nephews in possession of the states of *Pleasance* and *Parma*, and to surmount the resistance th' Emperour made for the pretentions of th' Empire.

But when th' Intentions of the *Popes* which should be ever good, and their Wills in an inviolable Justnes: when their Zeal shall have no other heat then what Duty inspires, and the Love of justice communicates; Their understandings

may

may be prepossessed. They may do it with a good faith; They may wander thinking to be in the Right way, and satisfie the passions of their Kindred believing to satisfie their Charge; The state Ecclesiastique is now governed in such sort, that the *Popes* ease themselves of the greatest part of their Affaires upon their Nephews. The *Cardinals* who out of Councill seem to be the Naturall Members of that head, and should help to sustaine the weight of the Monarchy; signifie now almost no more then t' improve the Majesty of the *Holy Chair*. The knowledge of Affairs is almost denyed them, and if they are sometimes proposed to the *Conclave*, 'tis rather to give Authority by their Approbation of what is done, than to resolve it by their suffrages. Book II.

This proceeding, which on the suddain may seem strange, is not without ground or appearance of Reason; Amongst the *Cardinals* some are naturall Subjects of *Princes*, to whom besides the Duty of birth, they owe also their fortune and also their promotion; and the Glory of the Purple they weare, is a Beauty which belongs not to them but by reflexion; and was borrowed by their Masters from th' *Holy Chair* to be Communicated unto them. And by consequence 'tis no wonder, If they are bound onely to their Interests; If they follow onely their Inclinations, and labour onely for their Glory, and the good of their Affairs; Or they are Children of some petty Soveraigne, and therefore full of th' humours of their House; of desire to make it Great; and in the same dependancy with it; To conclude, the greatest part of them, who from a Mean or low birth attaine that high Dignity; depend upon great temporall Powers, either by benefits received, or by guift of pensions, or by hopes wherewith they hold them fast. There's the state of *Venice* onely, which never gave themselves up to that practice, and which hath ever neglected to make themselves great in the Conclave. 'Tis at no charges to gaine *Cardinalls*, and contents it selfe to Command them of their States which are never above Two at a time, and passe Ordinarily into separated Interests from theirs though not Contrary. These passions then and those dependancies change the wills of *Popes* in regard of the *Cardinals*; Make all their offices suspected to him, and cause the Resolution of Affairs, to be reduced to him and his Relations, or to some of his Creatures, whose faithfullness he hath tryed, and whose Abilities are esteemed by him.

But that great Authority which *Popes* deliver up to their Nephewes, and the power of th' *Holy Chair*, The disposition whereof they very often leave entire and free unto them, are not ever governed by pure hands; 'Tis hard, though not im-

Book II. possible, that the zeal of the generall good should entirely possesse them who are not publique persons but by participation, 'Tis hard to forget ones proper Condition, and to have no Motions but of what a Man is not: 'Tis hard to betray selfe Love, and to seperate wholly from ones selfe, and 'tis to no purpose to shut up th' high-wayes t' interessed Designes and to particular Ends. They will light at our Houses if we are not infinitely virtuous, by some stolen Path, or by a secret Addresse; Th' Intentions of the *Pope* may be holy, but th' Intentions of the Nephews may be unholy. And if that be so, what expedient is there to stay the Contagion with them, and that it infect not the *Pope*? What defence against an Evill, that admits not of Preservatives? To answer for what one sees, if no sight be had but by the sight of others? To see a thing as it is; if th' outside be disguised? If th' Appearances have been Changed, and if the sellers of paint and plaister, who are many in great Courts, have prepared it before it be shewed? But to gaine sometimes the Nephews and corrupt th' Agents employed by them, in the Quarrells of Princes; the way is open to them who can do good and promise Recompences. For so soon as the *Pope* is mounted into the throne which drawes him so neer to God, and placeth him so much above other Men; It seems to the greatest part of his Relations, that they cannot with modesty stay in the crowd nor in th' obscurity of particular persons, so long as th' Uncle or the Brother is encompassed with the greatest Lights of the world; And therefore some of them are tenacious of all that may establish the greatness of their house, and raise them to the State of their Ambition. The *Spaniards*, understand better then all the Nations of the world these practices, and have larger Meanes t' exercise them then any other Nation. The Pensions which they distribute without Measure; The Livings they have to conferre in their States of *Italy*, and to th' Advantage of them that act at the Court of *Rome*; The Meanes t' advance their Relations to th' Offices of Peace and Warre. Th' Estates which they sometimes give them, or make the purchase thereof easie unto them, and Advantageous, and Rich Marriages which they procure for them; are strange Engines to Shake the Probity of *Italians*, if it be not very well Confirmed. The marriage of the Heire of th' house of *Jesualde* of the most famous of the kingdome of *Naples*, against th' expresse Clauses of her father's Will, which *Gregory the fifteenth* dispensed in favour of one of his *Nephewes*; gave th' entry to the *Spaniards* into the *Valtoline*, rendred them Masters of that Valley under the name of another power, gave that great wound

t'

t'*Italy*, and th' Armes of *Holy Peter* aided there t' advance th' Ambition of *Spaine*, and to weaken the Liberty of a Province where they are adored. And Moreover when hopes are weak to draw a person to their party, They then add feare; Tis not possible, but that th' one or th' other of those Passions may have its Effect, and they that resist their guifts and promises in relation to their Interests, are carefull at least not to justle them, the better t' avoyd the Tempests which they raise, and the Persecutions they stir up. Besides the Resistance they give them who aspire the *Pontificate* when they are of a Contrary Inclination, They have yet other Expedients to make themselves to be feared. I will not believe that they were the Principall Cause of th' unfortunate Ends of the *Caraffes*. The deportments wherewith they abused th' Authority of their Uncle. The Evills wherein they plunged *Christendome* by their ungoverned Ambition: The fire which they kindled in the State Ecclesiastique, and which endangered the destruction of it. Book II.

All three were hanged.

In short, all that a great power armed with Impunity could produce of fatall, gave but too much foundation for Justice, to make so great an Ensample. But 'tis true also, that the Contrivances of *Spaine*, and th' Ardent pursuits which their Agents made against them, did not abate the spirit of the Judges, nor the Rigour of the sentence; But without that, the persecution wherewith they agitated the *Cardinal Aldobrandin* after the Death of *Clement* th' Eighth, and the little safety he had also for his person, till he had suppled them by Imploring their Aide; Make out cleere Evidences how dangerous a thing it is to have been their Enemy, or not to have been for them which is allmost the same thing.

Presently after the coming of *Paul* the fifth, to the Pontificate, That *Cardinal* found himselfe thrust at from so many places, and saw so many snares laid about him, and so many plots formed for his destruction; that he was constrained to leave *Rome*, and to retire to *Ravenna* whereof he was *Arch Bishop*, nor did he find there the safety he sought for; and th' unexpected stormes which there did arise compelled him to leave that place where he was bound to reside, and to provide for his safety by his flight. He retired then into *Piedmont* whereby the *Duke* of *Savoy* who knew th' originall of his Evill, and the Remedy that might heale it; who knew from what Corner the windes of the persecution blew and the Meanes to appease them; Advised him to Cast himselfe into th' Armes of the *King* of *Spaine*, and to employ his Mediation to reconcile him to the *Pope*. No person is ignorant of the warre they made to the *Cardinal Baronius*, and with what

Book II. what obstinacy they assaulted him for cleering the Rights of th' *Holy Chair* to *Sicily*, and for publishing a truth they would have had concealed. In that Treaty, where that learned *Cardinal* endevours to prove that the Body of *St. Inques* is not at *Compostelle* of *Galice*; They have truly answered with Reasons and Proofs which much weaken the contrary opinion, and make theirs very probable who support it by the beliefe of Christian Nations, and ought to be known for publique satisfaction. But in the Treaty of *Sicily* they have re-parted with Fire, because, it may be, that reasons failed them, and commanded the fourth Volume of th' *Annales* of that great Person to be burnt by the hand of a Hangman, to declare the doctrine it contained, criminall, because it was not favourable to them. Truly, this evidence is to be rendred, and praise to be given to the *Spaniards*; That there's not a Nation in the World which hath so violent jealousie, as they, for the Interests of their State, and for the dignity of their Crown. And it must also be said, to the shame of ours, that there are none so strongly labouring under a contrary passion, as the greateſt part of *Frenchmen*. I will report the causes of both, in the second part.

Besides this, what did not the *Spaniards* in the Conclaves, where the suffrages enclined to *Baronius* side to choose him *Pope*? What Artifices did they leave unattempted t'oppose that promotion? What Efforts did they not employ to breake it, and what Engines did they not set a going t'overthrow it. The *Cardinal* of *Sourdis* stormed, and made a noise to no purpose at their practises; The greatest part of Honest men were scandalized, and desirous, to no better effect, that the Church might be governed by a Person that had so much merited from her. The wishes of honest persons were unprofitable. They sighed in vaine for so Holy an Election: *Baronius* his Enemies carried it, and the generall Interests of *Christendom* gave place to the particular Interest of *Spaine*. These Examples, and many others astonish them who upon other accounts have no Inclination for that Nation, and the fear which every person hath to procure himselfe Evill is the cause that many are diverted from doing the good they would, if liberty were not interdicted, and generosity assaulted by odious means and by those violent wayes. I will handle in the second part, Whether Christian Princes ought in Conscience to meddle with the promotion of *Popes*, and how.

THE

The Thirteenth Diſcourſe.

That the Mediation of Popes is very profitable in the differences of Chriſtian Princes, and in th' Affaires of Chriſtendome.

I Do not intend t' infer from the precedent diſcourſe, that Princes ought to be deprived of the Mediation of *Popes* nor to reject their offices when *Chriſtendome* is agitated, and that It's Princes are in diſcord. I ſhould be an ill *Logician* to draw no better conſequences, and it were t'act againſt all the principles of Reaſon, and all the Maxims of Morality; To forbid th' uſe of good things for their cauſe that abuſe them, To hinder good Superiours to do their Duty, becauſe the bad neglect it, and not enjoy the Beauty of the Sun, nor the benefits of its Light becauſe of the Eclipſes which ſometimes interpoſe, and ſteale it away from the World. 'Tis true, that there have been wicked *Popes*, and who have been the ſhame of th' *Holy Chaire*, and the ſcandall of Religion. There have been of them who did not engage in th' Affairs of Princes, but to trouble them; who brought only poyſon and fire againſt the diſeaſes, and who infected with their venome and breath, all that they touched: But all are not of that Nature, all are not guided by that Spirit. There have been ſome very honeſt Men, full of the ſpirit of God, who burn only with Holy Zeal, and having been raiſed to that ſupreame Dignity, have renounced all affections of Blood, for t' aſſume only th' affections of common Fathers of *Chriſtians*, and, of incorruptible Arbiters of th' affairs committed to them. And as they have the heart very ſound, and the will free from all irregular paſſion, ſome of them alſo have the ſight cleere, and th' underſtanding much enlightned, having a great intelligence of the things of the World, and that the goodneſſe of their underſtanding and th' Imployment they have had from other *Popes*, have put them into a condition, neither to be deceived by the artifices of their Relations, nor bewitched with ſtrange illuſions. The corruption alſo of their kindred, and of their Miniſters of State, is not ſo Univerſall, but that many are exempt, and who mingle nothing of particular with the Zeal of publique Reſt, nor any thing of Strangers with th' inſtructions of their Maſters.

And without conſidering, that th' *Holy Chaire* is the foundation wherein Religion is ſupported, and that there's no ſalvation for the members who abandon that Head; This

Book II. Good ariseth to the Princes his Children. That his Authority is much respected by them when it interposeth in their Affaires, and that his offices are very powerfull or very proper to determine their Quarrells, when the fire is kindled betwixt the two great Crowns, and that *France* and *Spaine* make warr. What power is either high enough or impartiall enough t' interveine to put it out? who can have force enough, to retaine those two great Engines when they move, and to stop such Impetuous and rash Motions, but th' *Holy Chair*. Besides that the Empire hath long stood without its first Glory, and without any markes of its ancient Majesty, but the Name, Armes; Who knows not that it depends on *Spaine*, or is in Communion of Interests with it? who knowes not that it hath withdrawn th' Empire from the precipice wherein it was falling; That it subsists not but by its subventions and Reliefes; and that *Charles* the *fifth* left not a stronger Recommendation to his son, than to be alwayes in amity with his Cousins, though their friendship cost him very deer, or to preserve it at an excessive price and with Immoderate Conditions.

For what concernes the Crowne of *England*, which was heretofore the Counterpoise of th' other two, and Arbiter of their differences; It is no more so proper, as it hath been t' Act in their discords. Change of Religion hath spoiled it, it cannot entertaine any good Intentions for the *Catholiques*. Having that venome on the heart, it cannot behold their prosperities with Eyes entirely pure. Their good Intelligence ought to be suspected, and if it advanceth sometimes towards *Spaine* and sometimes towards *France*, It lasteth so little, and is done with such languishing Motions and so suddaine a Returne; That 'tis very visible, that 'tis not a perfect Amity; it considers but a fancy of Goodwill which presently disappeares and an abortive of Affection which is produced by some light Cause; As to the Republique of *Venice*, It hath truly Wisdome, and Greatness enough, to labour in the Quarrells of the two Crownes; But 'tis so very Jealous of the power of th' one, and so great an Enemy to their Ambition, that their Endeavours would not be lesse suspected then th' offices of a Declared Enemy. As for th' other Princes of *Italy*, and *Germany*, they are so little or so dependant or so enstrainged from th' Inclination of *Spain*; That for their sakes they would not forsake their Animosity, nor submit to their good offices.

The *Pope* then remaines the sole Mediator of their Discords. The Quality of Children of the Church, which Catholique Princes do Glory in; obligeth them to honour Him who represents

preſents the Chiefe, and whatſoever jealouſie of Honour they labour under, they do no wrong to their Courage or Ambition, to ſubmit to him who is above them and Conjures them in the Name of *Jeſus Chriſt*, by whom they reigne, not to deſpiſe the peace he hath ſo much recommended. Thoſe Princes alſo, who are ſometimes a weary of quarrelling, and to whom th' Evills of warr are dreadfull, and the Miſery of their ſubjects gives them cauſe of Pitty, are very willing to be invited to Reſt, by ſo powerfull Authority; It cannot be denyed, but that the peace of *Vervins* ſo neceſſary for *Spain* and profitable for *France*, was the work of *Clement th'* Eighth, and that *Henry* the *Great* and *Philip* the *ſecond* had been much troubled to lay downe Armes which weighed ſo heavily on both partyes, without ſo great an Interpoſer. I have ſaid, that when Princes are tired with Quarrells and emptied of Monies and Men, or that they have in other places more important Employments which they cannot attend but in quiting the firſt; otherwiſe truely when Ambition is ſupported by force, and when th' appetite to Conquer is provoked by th' hope of victory; Tis hard to extinguiſh it with Treaties; or to appeaſe it by offices; To the greateſt part of Princes that make warr, the ſame happens, as t' opinionated Lawyers, who ceaſe not to plead by Election but by Inſufficiency, who owe their Reſt to the poverty, and not to the moderation of their ſpirit; and who ſtop not in going, but ſtand on the way for want of Force to go further. Beſides th' Experience which we have made of theſe laſt motions of *Italy*, we have memorable examples in the Lifes of *Charles the fifth*, and *Francis the firſt*. The ſtate of *Milan* was the Love of thoſe two Princes, and the moſt violent objects of their Ambition. They both burned with an Equall heat of poſſeſſing it, and th' animoſity which they Conceived upon that ſubject one againſt another, was ſo great that neither time nor men could ever overcome it, *Paul the third* ſpared not his perſon and expoſed himſelfe to long journeies, to labour ſo neceſſary a Reconſiliation. Th' inundations of the *Turke* from all parts upon Chriſtians ſufficiently ſollicited th' Emperour. And nevertheleſſe nothing of that could bend them: They reſiſted the prayers of the *Pope*: The miſerable Condition of *Chriſtendome* touched them not; and that fatall obſtinacy coſt him beſides the blood of his Children, The loſſe of *Rhodes* and the diminution of the faireſt portion of *Hungary*. Book II.

Popes have not onely lent their endeavours to *Chriſtendome* to determine the Quarrells of thoſe Princes; But have alſo often aided in ſecuring it from the Ruine that threatned it,

or

Book II. or to revenge its affronts or recover its Loſſes, had it not been for their Mediations and Offices : the Proteſtants had finiſhed the defacing of it, or the *Turks* had ſubdued it, and God, who hath choſen them to be the viſible Cheifs of the *Church*, hath alſo ordained that they ſhould be ſometimes the Liberators of the Country, where the *Church* is preſerved; and th'Inſtruments of temporall conſervation to the people that do acknowledge her. The moſt famous League the world ever ſaw was formed in the Councill of *Clermont* at th' Inſtance of *Peter th' Hermite* and by th'Authority of *Urban* the ſecond ; Four hundred thouſand fighting men put themſelves under the command of *Godfrey* of *Buillon* for the conqueſt of th'*Holy Land*. Chriſtianity never overflowed ſo largely as at that time, It never obtained ſuch Eminent ſucceſſe; and never ſo great a Number of adventurers, and voluntary Souldiers were ſo long together for the ſame deſigne, and with ſo much courage.

But not to go from th' Age paſt, and from the things happned in the times of our fathers ; Who knows not that *Paul the third* was Author of the League was made betweene the *Venetians* and *Charles* the *Fifth* to beat back *Soliman* who threatned *Italy*, and to chaſtiſe *Barbaroſſe*, who robbed the Coaſts. That if the *Chriſtians* ſuffered the victory t' eſcape which they had in their hands, if they would have taken it ; If the Maritime power of the *Turke* was not abated at that ſtroake ; If *Barbaroſſe* was not deſtroyed at *Preveſe*, as he might have been ; The cauſe muſt be attributed t'*Andre Doria*, as I have ſaid in another place. It ſeemed, that theſe two *Pirates* had ſhared th' Empire of the Sea, and th' one deſired not the ruine of th' other for feare of being leſſe conſiderable to his Maſter, when he had defeated his Enemies, and to loſe credit with the loſſe of exerciſe : *Barbaroſſe* alſo repayed the Courteſie and gave the revenge to *Doria* neere *Villa Franca* where he would not deſtroy him, as it was eaſie for him after a Wrack, nor purſue his Ships which the Tempeſts had ſcattered. It may be alſo there was ſome hidden Cauſe, and ſome concealed Motive from th' *Emperour*, for which reaſon he ſought not Victory in the League we ſpeak of, but the retrayte of his enemies, and ceſſation of the War. I will treat of this matter in the ſecond part, in the treaty of Leagues.

Pius the fourth, layed the foundation of the League for the reliefe of *Cyprus*, which was concluded under *Pius the fourth*, That if it was not fortunate enough ; If th' hopes conceived faild of their principall End, and if *Cyprus* was loſt for want of reliefe ; The delayes the *Spaniards* bring t'all their undertake-

undertakings; The tempeſts that were frequent that year upon the Sea; The Plague which emptied the veſſels of the *Venetians*; and a ſecret diſpoſition of th' Heavens, that afflicted the Republique, were the cauſes of that Diſgrace; The League nevertheleſſe was profitable, and paſt-ages nor all the powers of th' ancients did not produce upon the Levant Sea any thing ſo memorable as the Battail of *Curſolary*; That, if the Chriſtians had not betrayed themſelves; If they would have made uſe of the victory, and have followed the fortune *Conſtantinople* and the *Levant* offered them; we had been largely repaired for the loſſes we have lately received. We ware Maſters of the *Mediterranean* Sea, the *Turke* was reduced to the Land, and the Virtue of *Don John* of *Auſtria* might have given hopes to *Spain*, not t' envy *France* the glory of its *Godfrey*, and the good ſucceſſe of it's Armies. But the diſtruſt the *Venetians* had of the *Spaniards*, and th' Experience they had made under *Charles* the fifth, in the taking of *Chaſteauneuf*, how unjuſt obſervers they were of th' agreements of Leagues; On the other ſide, the jealouſie the *Spaniards* had, that the Ruine of the *Turk*, was the greatning of the *Venetians*, That they would gather the beſt pieces of his overthrow, and the principall fruit of the Warre; That having no cauſe to fear the forces of the *Turk*, they would the leſſe conſider the *Spaniſh* ſtrength; and becomming more powerfull, they might the more croſſe them in their deſignes for *Italy*; That, I ſay, corrupted the victory and fruſtrated th' hopes of *Chriſtendome* and th' attempt of the World. They that know the humours of Princes, what the reaſons of State are, and the nature of Leagues, will not think that ſtrange which I have now ſaid. Book II.

However we have drawn two notable advantages from the victory of *Lepantha*. Th'one is, that if we have not been wiſe enough to make profit of the Good offered us, we have been ſufficiently happy in avoiding th'Evills which threatned us, if the forces of the *Turke* had not been ſhatter'd, and that formidable Fleet diſſipated which covered all the Gulfe of *Venice* with Creſcents and the lower Sea of *Italy*. Th' other advantage is, that we have given him to underſtand, that if his forces are greater then thoſe of a ſingle Prince; they are inferiour to the forces of united Chriſtendome. And if by a deſigne worthy the name they beare, they combine together againſt him, his Greatneſſe in a ſmall time would be humbled, the Creſcent ſhattered, and himſelfe ſent to the bottome of *Scythia*, from whence he took his originall. The continuation of the League, and the good Fortune of Chriſtendome, dyed with the Life of *Pius* the

Book II. *fifth*, and if his succeſſor had had as much Zeal as he to maintain it; He was not happy enough to ſupport it, for he had the diſpleaſure to know, that the *Venetians* had broken it, and was agreed with *Selim* without the knowledge of their Confederates; whether they had Reaſon or not, I will diſcourſe in the Second part, where I will examine the Cauſes of the Treaty of *Moncon*, which we made ſome yeares paſt upon the buſineſs of the *Valtoline*.

For what concernes the warrs at Land, Tis very well known, what *Popes* have done againſt the Common enemy of *Chriſtians*, and againſt Heretiques. In the ſecond Expedition of *Soliman* againſt *Vienna*, and in th' heat which poſſeſſed him to purge off the ſhame of the firſt Expedition, It was neceſſary that *Chriſtendome* ſhould employ all her forces; That her reſt was to be ſet up and oppoſe its greateſt power to a Conquerour, whom Spight and Ambition animated to her Ruine; It muſt be confeſſed, that in this Occaſion *Charles the fifth* was truly the *Cæſar* of *Chriſtians*, and that he fought for Religion in defending his patrimony. But it muſt alſo be confeſſed, that the Cares of the *Pope* were very ſedulous to ſend him forces; To ſolicite for him in all parts, and to put him into a Condition to receive that formidable Adverſary; So *Soliman*, as powerfull as he was, durſt not advance towards him; He durſt not put his Glory to Competition with that of *Charles*; And as religious as he was, He brake th' Oath he had made, Never to return to *Conſtantinople* but as Conquerour of *Vienna*, and loaden with the ſpoiles of *Auſtria*.

So ſoon as th' *Hereſie* of *Luther* multiplied and felt it ſelfe powerfull, It appeared rebellious. All the *Septentrionals* almoſt conſpired againſt th' *Emperour*; nothing was ever ſeen ſo proud as that League, becauſe it was very ſtrong. The Standards of the Commanders were filled with proud Mottoes and with threatning words; And two Great perſons th' one for the warr, and th' other for th' Intricacyes of affaires, which were the *Duke* of *Saxe* and the *Langrave* of *Heſſen*, made up the ſoul and gave it Motion. Th' Emperour in apparance ought to be ſuppreſſed with the ſtorme that ſurprized him, and religion to have ſuffered finall ſhipwrack in *Germany*; ſo truly it had hapned, if the *Pope* had not run to his reliefe. The forces which *Paul the third* ſent him under the Command of his Nephew, were the ſinewes of *Charles the fifth's* Army. And with that re-enforcement which conſiſted of ten thouſand choſen men; That great Leavy of men was diſſipated. The *Duke* of *Saxe* was taken priſoner after he was overcome; The rebellious Cities opened their Gates

to

to the victorious, and the Victory was at th' issue the *Pope* de- Book II.
sired it; who apprehended, for th' Interest of religion, the progresse of protestants Armes; and th' too great prosperity of th' *Emperour*, for th' Interest of *Italy*; These latter yeares when Heresie overflowed at the Dyet of *Wormes*, and that it proposed to change religion in all places, with the Change of States; All *Germany* almost conspired in this Designe; and the forces which ought to have been Imployed against the *Turke* and for the Recovery of *Hungary*, were turnd against th' house of *Austria*, because it was *Catholique* or too ambitious. The revolt of *Bohemia*, and th' Election of the *Count Palatine*; The shew of their first Armes, and the weakeness of th' *Emperour*, gave feare t'other *Catholiques*, and raised the Courage of th' other Protestants in *Europe*; *Italy* was then threatned, *Rome* was also devoured in hopes; *Babylon*, said they, must be purged, and that which had been so long the principall seat of Religion, ought to be the principall seat of Heresie; In this publique Consternation of *Catholiques*, and in the feare of more tragicall Events; This Evidence is to be given to th' *Holy Chair*, That eminent Reliefes were raised against th' Evills which happned, and against them that were feared; and that the *Catholique* League of *Germany*, hath been principally th' effect of the *Popes* Authority and zeale. And truly it hath been so happy, and God so visibly declared in its favour, that we should be troubled to believe the prosperities which happned, if we had not seen them; and nothing hath fallen out more Contrary to humane Discourse, and to the shew of things than the Ruine of the *Palatine* and the resurrection of th' *Emperour*.

The Fourteenth Discourse.

Of the Prudence which ought to be observed in treating with th' Agents of the Pope, and whether it be Lawfull t' use dissimulation, and How.

THough it be easie to inferr from the precedent Discourse, How necessary it is that the *Pope* interpose in the Quarrells of Princes, and that he be made the Mediator of their Discords; Tis easie also to conclude with what circumspection their Agents are to be treated with. Another Minister of State then, treating with them, ought never to be free from distrust; which assures business; which avoydes snares; which defends from surprizes, and leaves not deceit in the power of deceivers. That he takes it for Certaine, That they are persons who bring Art to all they do and never

Book II. ver descend t' Action but well prepared; Who are Enemies t' Impetuosity, and ordinarily have no violent passion which Confoundes Discourse and disorders Reason; That of all th' humours whereof the body is composed, esteem nothing so much as Flegme; nor of all the virtues that enter into affairs, as Patience for to tire them: He ought to know, that they lose nothing, and make profit of all, That sometimes they go back, to advance the better; That the last thing they discover, is their first Intention. That they turne the back, where they would salute; as they do, who row: And though the straight lines are the shortest, they love th' oblique better t' attaine their Ends, and to hit the Mark they propose to themselves.

He ought then to be prepared against their Art and against all their Cringes: But he must in such a manner regulate his behaviour and governe himselfe with such a Temper, that he never make Discovery of his Distrust; That he make shew of free deportment, and that th' outward Appearance make out nothing but freedome. He must fortifie th' Entries of Conferences with th' opinion he hath of th' Integrity of him with whom he treats, of th' uprightnesse of his Intentions, and of the purity of his zeal for the publique Good. He must give him also a taste of His Master's Inclination, If he be our friend that he may observe it, or that of his family, if it have passion for us, that he may not depart from it. From this open Action and free proceeding in shew of designe and artifice, of three things one will arise; either Impression will be made on his will; an Entry on his soul; or an Insinuation into his Inclinations, which will be an augury for us, of the good successe of th' affair. Tis a point which they ought ever to aime at, who manadge businesse, and that they may assure themselves, that so soon as they have gained the will of any person, they become Masters of his reason, and understanding. 'Tis strange what power the second Faculty of the soul, hath, which is, to speak truth, nothing but heat and affection, above the first Faculty, which is Light and Intelligence. When she pleaseth, she drawes her by whom she ought to be guided; she makes her walk after her desires, though she ought not to be moved but by her discourses; She makes her find painting and dresses, for th' ugly things she hath Love for; she makes her disguise, under th' appearance of true, a lye, which she will follow; and under th' appearance of Good, th' injustice which she will practise, This rule ought inviolably to be observed in all Negotiations, that they may be happy, That they be not manadged by persons that have aversion for one another. The second

is,

is, that if the perſon with whom one hath to do, ſtands firme and ſuffers not himſelfe to be ſhaken by that kind of freedome and compleaſancy. If he reſiſts that charme and catch not at that bit, He will be the leſſe on his guard when nothing ſhall be ſuſpected by him. He will be eaſier taſted, he will breathe out ſome words to manifeſt his thoughts, and it may happen to him as to ſtrong places and well provided for, which are ſometimes loſt by too great confidence had in their Forces, and by the little care is uſed to preſerve them, believing that there's no need of it; To conclude, if ſome profitable uſe be not made of this Conduct, the miſchiefe which attends an open Diſtruſt, at leaſt, will be avoided which is ever injurious to him in whoſe behalfe it is exerciſed, which would raiſe in him ſharp thoughts againſt us; and would draw th'Inconveniences we would avoid; or divert the ſucceſſes which we believe, not t'owe to the Good-will of another and to his induſtry, but to our ſubtelty, and to our addreſſe. Book II.

Two things alſo are to be remembred, Th'one that th' Art which I adviſe is not Art, if it be not concealed; and that it workes an effect contrary to what a man propoſeth to himſelfe, ſo ſoon as it hath taken Aire. This ſo beneficiall confidence then, is to be expreſſed without affectation and exceſſe. Otherwiſe truly, when it makes a noyſe and is irregular, when it ſpeaks loud, and makes its action too preſſing, 'Tis ſuſpected of ſome deſigne; it engenders diſtruſt and creates a beliefe of the contrary he would perſwade. And in this particularly, That excellent Rule in Logicke is to be obſerved; *That who proves too much proves nothing, or that good word of th' Antients, That nothing be done too much*, or that advice of *St. Paul, To be wiſe to ſobriety and with meaſure.* Th'exceſſe of complements wherewith the Court is infected and th'Irregularity of *Tatling* which receives neither exception nor bounds, are certaine proofs of what I have now ſaid. So there are none but fools and new commers, that delight in it; able perſons believe ordinarily the contrary, and ſeek the truth of intentions in the contradiction of words. Th'other thing particularly to be obſerved, is, Not t'employ this Art indifferently, and to all th' uſes whereunto it is proper; Not to make uſe of it t'aſſault, but to defend ones ſelf; Not to deceive, but to ſecure from deceit; and not to make a poyſon of what ought to be a preſervative. According to this ſenſe, 'Tis alſo true, that diſſimulation is permitted, & *That whoſoever knowes not how to Diſſemble, knows not how to Reign.* The foundation of this opinion is, that though lying be forbidden, & that it is a thing unworthy of man, & a

Book II. villanous perſpective in his demeanor; That the exteriour ſhould contradict th' Interiour; That the Tongue ſhould bely the Heart, and that the Word ſhould betray the thought, whereof 'tis th'Image and Character; 'Tis ſo, That no perſon is bound alwaies to declare his ſenſe, to retayle all that is in the ſoul; To make the firſt commer his confeſſor and his Judge, and 'tis certain that God hath as well recommended ſilence to us to conceale Dangerous truths, as he hath given us ſpeech to publiſh the Neceſſary Truths.

The diſſimulation which tends to the Ruine of ones Neighbour, and ſerves for a cover to injuſtice, ought to be ſhunned of honeſt people. And what gaine ſoever it propoſeth, and with what hopes of recompence 'tis attired; She cannot repaire th' evill of the breach of the bond of publique Faith, and of overthrowing the foundation of human Society; 'Tis a falſe prudence which th' *Ancients* have condemned; which the light of nature deteſts; which takes away credit from man, and makes even his good Actions to be ſuſpected. In a word, it deſtroyes ordinarily them that make uſe of it, and thoſe double ſpirits and ſubtile motions are often ſeen to fall into the ſnares they have prepared for others, and into the precipice they have digged for them. They who teach this doctrine, and make ſcience of deceit, propoſe examples, which are capable to divert a Man, and the tragicall ends wherewith ſhe is diverted make it appear; That when the juſtice of men failes, God at leaſt failes not t' interpoſe his juſtice; To catch the Wiſe in their Wiles, and the Cautious in their Malice. The conduct of *Cæſar Borgia* which was the Modell of *Machavell's* Prince, and that villanous Originall whereof he made ſo dangerous a Copy, had in the beginning ſome conſiderable ſucceſſe; But God who had permitted that perſon to be borne in his wrath and to puniſh the ſins of *Italy*, and to be the Flayle of them that were leſſe wicked then himſelfe; abandoned him at laſt to juſtice; Took his judgment from him for deſtruction, permitted that no faith ſhould be obſerved to him who had ſo often broken it; That he who was ſo diſtruſtfull became Credulous, and was blind to the Nets the great Captain laid for him.

Italy, as it is the Theater of great vices and vertues, gave a little before another great Example of the ſame nature. *Lodwick Sforſa* believed himſelfe the ſubtilleſt perſon of his time; His Picture and Deviſes retained ever ſome marke of that vanity: and all his entertainments are filled with that folly. He made profeſſion to lead the great perſons of *Europe* whither

ther he liſted ; To have in his hands the Peace and Warr of other Nations, and to have been more powerfull with his wit and addreſſe, then the Conquerours were with their Force and Armies. It hapned at laſt, that he who had overthrown the peace of *Italy*, wherein ſhe repoſed, to ſatisfie his ambition; who had ſo often broken his Confederacies and Alliances; and had opened the way to Soveraignry by Poyſon and Parricides; that he, I ſay, beſides the great Diſgraces which vexed his Life, was betrayed at *Navarre* by the *Suiſſes* that were payed by him ; ſold to the French that made warre with him ; Impriſoned in the Tower of *Loches* ; and for ten years together ſerved for a ſpectacle to all *Europe* of the frailty of greatneſs, and of th' Inconſtancy of worldly things. Book II.

Our Hiſtory is not unfurniſhed of illuſtrious examples in this ſubject. *Charles* of *Navarre* who had neither Faith nor Religion ; who was the Firebrand of *France* and the perpetuall diſturber of its reſt ; who ſo often played upon the eaſineſſe of the people with his Eloquence, and ſo often abuſed the gifts of the Spirit which were admirable in him, t' afflict this Kingdome ; with how many evills did he ſee himſelf purſued ? His Quality of Prince did not exempt him from poverty nor priſon ; He was eaten with long and ſharp ſickneſſe, and at laſt Fire conſumed him by th' Imprudence of a ſervant, with a Cloath wet in Aqua-vitæ. The Conſtable of *Saint Paul* ſubſiſted long in the diſſimulation he compleatly practiſed: but in long running his Art ruined him, and deſiring to make uſe at one & the ſame time of two contrary parties, He was ſo deſerted by th' one & ſacrificed to th' other. Truly if deceits and wicked wayes were not ſubject to violent accidents, and to ſuch fatall concluſions, th' Ignorance, or Corruption of men is very ſtrange, to help of natnre the wayes of reigning, and to deſtroy their affairs which they might find more certain, and honourable with prudence and diſcourſe ; what pitty 'tis that ſo many experiences which have preceded cannot make them underſtand, that if vertue be ſometimes unhappy, 'tis alwaies eſteemed ; That it riſeth oftner then Malice, when it falls, and that the good fortune of this conſiſts not in the ſouls of them that exerciſe it, but in th' opinion of them, that behold only th' Exteriour which covers it, and the ſuperficies that doth ſurround it.

The

The Fifthtenth Discourse.

Whether it be lawfull to make Warre with the Pope; Wherein the Demeanour which Phillip the second, observed in the Warre he made is Commended, and that of Charles the fifth Condemned.

TO resolve this matter well, and give it a full day and a perfect Cleereneſſe; 'Tis neceſſary to make uſe of the Metaphyſicall abſtractions, and to diſtinguiſh the things which are effectively joyned with the Spirit; But are truly diverſe, and have nothing of common but the ſubject which holds them, and the ſtock on which they are grafted. The *Popes* then are not now to be conſidered as Vicars of Jeſus Chriſt, Who hath proteſted that his Kingdome was not of this world, but as *Princes of th'Earth, and Lords* of certaine States in *Italy* and in the country of *Provance*.

That being ſuppoſed, I ſay in the firſt place; that it ſeems that they who have given theſe Eſtates to the Church could not beſtow them with other Intentions, than as they did enjoy them, and ſubject to the ſame inconveniences they were in the time of their enjoying them. And therefore the *Popes*, which enjoy them are not exempt from the right of Nations, no more then the firſt Maſters of thoſe eſtates, and that they ought to propoſe to themſelves; Beſides, that injuſtice is more odious in them then in other perſons, who ought t' act only by charity; That 'tis permitted t'other *Soveraignes* to do Juſtice themſelves, when it cannot be obtained of them, and that they abuſe to the ruine of men, the temporall power they have received from men. So when *Paul the fourth* declared War againſt *Phillip the ſecond* and would take away the Kingdome of *Naples* from him, to give it t'one of his *Nephewes*; Th' adviſe of the moſt eminent *Theologians of Spaine and Flanders*, and amongſt others of *Melchior Canus Porta*, was; That he ought not only t'attend in his dominions, the *Popes* Forces, and beat them back; but that he might alſo with a good conſcience enter upon the Lands of the *Church* by way of diverſion, and to prevent the ſtorme which was raiſed againſt his Territories.

I ſay, nevertheleſſe, that here diſtinction muſt be uſed, and 'tis very probable, that a Warre purely offenſive againſt the *Pope* may not ſingly be undertaken; That there's no title of juſt Warre, nor conſideration of State, which can diſpence a Prince to retaine with conſcience, what he hath gained in juſtice from th' *Holy Chaire*, and that conſequences are not

to

to be drawn from what intervenes in the Commerce of Princes purely temporall, and in the Quarrels they have together in relation to what respects the good of the *Church*, and the Revenue of *St. Peter*. The Reason is, that insomuch that amongst the first, 'tis sufficient that the Warre be probably just t'authorise the conquests that are made, and make the possession lawfull of what is gained. Which happens not in the Warres that are made to *Popes*. To make out the true difference, 'tis of importance to stay a little upon this dolefull matter, and to descend even to the Root of that justice, and to the finall cause which makes the Warre lawfull. The Soveraign Princes who have no superiours on Earth, who hold only of God by themselves, and are independent as to all other men, are dependent as to Justice. And therefore so oft as they violate that Vertue, and break that Divine bond, which sustains th'Order of the World; Another Prince which shall be wronged, may repaire himself of the wrong he suffers, and satisfie himselfe with his own hands. And in this, Conscience is safe, and the Warres, made to repulse violence, are agreeable to God, and the bloud there spilt a sacrifice of a good Odour before his Divine Majesty. Wherefore in th'Antient Law he hath stirred up his people t'Arme themselves, and to fight; and he hath not disdained amongst his most Magnificent Qualities and most glorious Titles t'assume that of *God of th' Armies*. Book II.

This at first seems strange by reason of th'Inclination Man ought to have to sweetnesse and peace; And since 'tis not seen that Beasts are greedy of the bloud of their kinde, nor *Tygers* cruell against *Tygers*; There's cause of great amazement that men should be so ingenious to destroy one another, and so fierce to ruine their very kind, That the noblest of all Virtues is Valour, and that of making warre the most famous Art. That the glory of *Alexander* and *Cæsar* needed two Millions of Lifes, to rise to th' heighth it is at; And that ancient *Rome* allowed not the triumph but to the Murderers of allmost a whole Nation, and to them who had depopulated a Country of the Flower of their Inhabitants, and poured out the Noblest bloud of a Province. That would truly be strange, if it was done by an Instinct of Cruelty; If it proceed from a blind Envy, to drinke up humane bloud; and was conducted by any other spirit then that of Justice.

That if we make no Question to take Physicke, To permit opening of veines, and to make use also of Poyson, and of fire t'heat our bodies; How much lesse difficulty ought we

Book II. make t' imploy violent Remedies when gentle are unprofitable, and that there's no other provision to be made against th' Irregularities of Princes and of people, nor to Maintain justice which is th' health of States, and the soul of the politique Body. That if what soveraigne Princes practise in the person of their subjects, and the Example they make of their Crimes are, agreeable to God, and necessary for the world; How much more ought that to be just, which they exercise against other Princes, and is of the more Generall faults, and concern all the Nations of th' Earth in Consequence, & an infinite of particular persons in their private Interest. It were well to be wished, That of two parts which Compose the distributive; The world knew onely that which gives Crownes to virtue, and Recompences to Merit: But since Corrupted nature enclines more t' evill than to good, and that th' objects of virtue are not so frequent and active, as those of vice; That part of justice, which distributes punishment, hath by Consequent a more necessary use and more extended then th' other; and *Soveraignes* ought no more to be exempted, then particular persons, since they are alike faulty, and more dangerously Culpable. 'Tis the reason God hath put the sword into their hands, and hath Commanded that they should have power to punish, not onely the Criminalls of their states, but also to revenge th' injuryes done them, and require reason themselves of other *Soveraignes*, which had offended them, since they have no superiours, as particular persons who do the wrong.

I speak here of the wrongs which one *Soveraigne* doth to another; For what concernes the *Soveraigne* to the subject, tis a busines which other Soveraigns have nothing to do with, but to behold; as not submitted to the Jurisdiction of any person, and what God hath reserved for his Tribunall and for his Justice; when the power is Legitimate th' use may be violent, without being Lawfull, for any person whatsoever t' alter it with force. The people who are oppressed, have nothing but prayers to divert it, or Patience to suffer it; Beyond that, theres no Resistance just, nor exception to be admitted. The Duty regardes not the person of Princes, but th' Authority God hath put into their hands. The bad as the good possesse it; and therefore he wills, that we acknowledge them equally, and reverence, as th' Image of his power, them whom we cannot love as th' Image of his bounty. The result of what hath been said, is, that a *Soveraigne* may sometimes strip another *Soveraigne* without injustice; That the states of th' one, may be the price and matter of Reparation for another that hath been offended;

Or

or of th' Expence which he hath made in the pursuit; and that there's nothing Committed, against th'order of things, if Innocent subjects suffer for the faults of their Masters. That they partake of his Evills, as of his Benefits and receive the badas good influences of the head whereof they are members. But for what concernes *Popes* and the Patrimony of th' *Holy Chair*, The Considerations is very different; They have Priviledges which are not Common t'other Princes, nor t'other States. God extends to them a Certain propriety, by reason of *Jesus Christ*, for whose Love they have been given, which renders them unalienable, which are not to be usurped without sacriledge, and above the Right of Nations, and those universall Lawes to which all Nations have consented for the Generall Good of the world. And tis not alwayes true, That the things which change Master cannot change Condition, and take the Qualities of the last possessor which they had not with the former; If the waters attract the virtues of the Mineralls by which they passe; If the goodness of the soile communicates it selfe to the plants which are brought thither, and gives them a grouth they had not in another; If the proprieties of a Crowne descend upon the Members which are united to it; And if *Bretanny* be subject to the *Salique Law* since it was incorporated into *France*; why should not the dignity of th' *Holy Chair* infuse some what of particular to the States which are belonging to it? Why should it remaine Barren? why should it be without virtue aud action in that behalfe? Why should not *Holy* things have some exemption above the prophane? and the Reflexion which is made towards *Jesus Christ* obtaine some Respect from *Christian* Princes, which they give not t' one another, and some speciall Distinction. Book II.

I say, in the third place, when the *Pope* quits the functions of his Charge; and that, of Father (which he ought to be) becomes th' Enemy of his Children; when he breaks unjustly the Calme of *Christendome*, and carries the warr to the States of other princes, They may preserve for their defence, and make use of th' offensive by way of Diversion and prevention; provided that neither th' one nor th'other tend to Conquest, but onely to Conserve, and passe not the designe of a lawfull Defence. So the Duke of *Alva* did exercise it in the warr he made against *Paul the fourth*. He stayed not to make his defence just, till th' Ecclesiastique, and *French* Armies were joyned and made Incursions into the Lands of his Master. He drew into the field whilst they were preparing; Enterd the Lands of the *Church*, took many places, and gave Terrour to *Rome*. And if he would have forced the Victory

as

Book II. as farr as he might, he had seen it crowned with the taking of the Chiefest Towne of the world. But his designe was t' affright the *Pope*, and not to hurt him; To shew lightning, and restraine the Thunder, to constraine him whom he could not bend, and to bring him back to his duty by violence, who voluntarily estranged himselfe from it; So after we had received affronts before *Civitella*, and before other places by the fault of the *Caraffes*; After that our Army was Constrained to draw back and might have been defeated, If the *Duke of Alva* had been disposed to have gained bloody Victories, and not to have prepared bridges for his Enemies. In their Retraite, He made an Accommodation with *Paul* and an Accord, which I preferre before the greatest Victory *Spaine* ever obtained. He restored all the places he had taken. He confessed his error. He was at *Rome* to make his submissions to the *Pope*; He demanded pardon for the fault he had committed; so *Rome* received him, as in Triumph; He had th' honour t' eate with his Holiness, and merited of his bounty the praise of being the defender of the *Holy Chair* whilst he made warr with it; And since when after six yeares of service, and for a matter of nothing, as I have else where expressed, *Philip the second* sent him a Prisoner to his house in the Country; *Gregory the third* interceded for him, and endeavoured to gaine him his Liberty. In the representing to him the long and great services, which he had rendred to *Spaine*, and to the Church, and particularly the Moderations h' used in behalfe of th' *Holy Chair*, when it was in his power t' have defaced it, unpuni shed; to make use of the priviledges of a Conquerour, and t' exercise Advantages, which force gives to them that have it; This proceeding is worthy of th' Approbation of all Ages, and th' Imitation of all Princes.

Th' Action of *Charles the fifth* in the same subject, is very different from th' other. Let us represent it as it is and in its naturall posture. Lets take away the policies and painting wherewith the *Spaniards* have disguised it; Lets not flatter a Monster which cannot be formed too hideous, and that so scandolous and black a Crime rest not unpunished in the Memory of Men. I am Content that the taking of *Rome* by *Bourbon* should be taken to be a Blow from th' hand of God, and an effect of his provoked Justice, and that the warr inclined it to that side against th' Intention of *Charles*; and that Treaty which *Moncado* made with *Clement* was done without supecery, and with Designe to Cause it to be observed by *Bourbon*, and to suffer the *Pope* t' enjoy the Truce of five Months, which had been accorded unto him; And that th'

th' Army of *Bourbon* took the bridle in the teeth, and marched towards *Rome* in spight of his Generall. I speak not of the raising of 14000 furious *Lutherans* and burning with the first Zeale of that Heresie, t'employ them in a Warre, where th'*Holy Chaire* had so great a part: But after that *Rome* was taken, & that dreadful accident was hapned by the course wherewith it was guided; After that th' *Holy Citty* had served for spectacle to the World of the justice, and of th' Impiety of Men; After that the *Pope* was besieged in the Castle of *St. Angelo*; Why did not th' *Emperour* cause the scandall to cease at the first news he heard of it? Why did he not deliver *Rome* of that heretique Garrison, which abused th'holy things; who prophaned the most sacred Mysteries, of our Religion; and added to all the kinds of cruelty, all the kinds of sacriledge. Why did he suffer the *Pope* to be put to Ransom, to redeeme himselfe with Money from the vexation of victorious Heretiques; and that *Ostia* and th'other strong places of th' Ecclesiastique State, were the Price of his liberty, and th' Arguments of his servitude. I know well, that some answer may be made in his favour and for his discharge; That 'tis permitted to make use of th'Advantage; which we have not sought, but fortune hath offer'd; That 'tis lawfull to draw good from th'evill which happens against our intentions; That 'tis the destiny of the things of this World, That the prosperity of some is raised by th' Adversity of others; and that th'affairs of State are like those of Merchandize, wherein the greatest secret is to know when to make right use of the time, and t'employ th' occasions to profit when they are offered. To that I answer; first that the evills which I have spoken of, and those dreadfull Accidents, were the sequells of the breach of many treaties made with *Clement*, and of the violation of publique faith in his person. And therefore, that the effects could not become Lawfull, whose causes were so notoriously unjust; That the River cannot be very sound, if the Spring be poysoned; That conclusions retain alwaies the conditions of the principles from which they arise, and partake of their spots and weaknesses; and that they who have been the promoters of some Evill, or have not diverted it when they were obliged, are bound to repaire it, and ought to be security for th' ill consequences, they bring with them. In the second place I answer, that the person of the *Pope* and the dominions of th' *Holy Chaire* are priviledged-things and of right are not subject t' all th'Inconveniences, and t' all the disgraces to which the Person, and States of other Princes are exposed; for the Reasons above given and which shall not here be repeated. Book II.

Book II. As to th'affliction th'*Emperour* seemed to declare, at the News of th'Accident, and the Demonstrations he published of an eminent grief; As to the mourning he put on to make his Displeasure visible; and to the Processions he made upon that occasion; And the Rejoycings for the birth of his Son, He caused to cease: To weep, th'ill fortune of the *Pope*; All that, was but illusion and Comedy. So that false sadnesse suddenly disappeared, and that vain shew of griefe was presently belyed by the proceedings above mentioned. And moreover *Francis* the first reproached him in one of his Manifests; that he had dared to think to send *Clement* into *Spain*, and conceived that monstrous vanity, To have at the same time in his hands, the two principall persons of the World, and two so great prisoners as a *Pope*, and King of *France*. The *Spaniards* answerd that if *Charles* had had the will, who could have hindred him, to have executed it? And who are strong enough to oppose his designes, in a time when Fortune refused nothing to his desires, when his prosperities gave feare t'*England*, and *Italy* was amazed at the blow which it had newly received. When *France* was mortified for th'Imprisonment of its *King*, and th'heretiques of *Germany* made brags of the purging of *Rome* from its abominations, and abating the *Popedome* under th'Authority of a Catholique *Emperour*.

To that, Answer may be made with *Francis the first*, That *Charles* was diverted from that designe by th' Horror the proposition raised to all *Spaine*. That the people murmured and the Clergy raged, when there was speech of leading the Vicar of *Jesus Christ* in Triumph, and to make a Prisoner of th'head of the *Church*.

Though it be very hard to justifie the truth of this fact, & to make visible a matter so darke; 'tis better to leave it in darknesse, and to suspend herein ones beliefe, for the honour of a Prince that hath much merited of the *Church* in divers occasions, and to whom the glory of beating back *Soliman* cannot be denyed, and th'assuring of all *Christendome* in the defence of his patrimny, and the States of his brother. At least, 'tis certain that if he was a sinner, he was a Penitent; and that he washed his faults with the teares of three years, which he poured out in his retraite from the world, before death tooke him away from it.

Others aggravated this fault by th'Evills which Fortune raised t'interrupt his prosperities, and by the diverse faces which she shewed to them of his Race. They mentioned the disgraces of his Brother, The Route of his Armies at *Ezechio*, and at *Bude*, and th'other Victories which Valour did

did not ſo much give to the *Turk*, as th'ill Fortune of *Ferdinand*, and the Cowardiſe of his Captains. They did not conceale th'occaſions wherein he ſaw his deſignes overthrown, and his perſon in danger; The ſinking of his Fleet in th'haven of *Algiers*; and that fearfull loſſe, which hath not been equalled by any loſſe made by Chriſtians on the Sea, but by that, which his Son made in the Sleev of *England*; They repreſent the ſucceſſe which the ſecond League had againſt him in *Germany*: The Chaſe which *Maurice* Duke of *Saxony* gave him; And the neceſſity whereunto he was reduced, to ſave himſelfe by night, and the ſixth perſon at *Iſburg*, and to conſent to the peace of *Paſſo* ſo injurious to *Religion*, and ſo unworthy of th'*Empire*: And to conclude, they adde th'ill ſucceſſe of the Enterprize of *Provaqce*, and the ſhame of the ſiege of *Mets*, which was the laſt deceit fortune put upon th'*Emperour*, and th'accompliſhment of the deſigne he meditated to put himſelfe out of her power in quitting the World where ſhe is ſo ſoveraign. I will not affirme, that all theſe Evills befell him in revenge of the ſacking of *Rome*, and th'affront offered to th'*Holy Chaire*. It might happen that God ſent or permitted them for that ſubject; And it might fall out alſo, that they ſprang from other reaſons, and were th'effect of another cauſe. Inſomuch, that according to the judgements that are made upon that Matter, and th'Examples which are alleadged of them whom God hath puniſhed for offending of *Popes*; There's more in it of opinion then of ſcience, and of conjecture then certitude. For who hath been of God's counſel? who ever entred into the depths of his Wiſedome? Who hath pierced the darkneſſe where he hids himſelfe? and to whom hath he diſcovered the ſecrets of his providence, and th'hid cauſes of the government of the world? The Death of *Bourbon* of the firſt inſtances given is not ſo concluding an Example, nor ſo demonſtrative as 'tis believed, againſt what I have now ſaid. I deny not, but that God might have permitted it as the puniſhment of the ſacriledge he committed in forcing *Rome*, or as the vengeance of the breach of a Treaty whereupon *Clement* truſted, and whereof the confirmation had been often repeated unto him to ſurprize him. But I know alſo that the violent end of that Prince might proceed from a cauſe meerly accidentall, and th'ordinary fruits of a profeſſion which ſpares no perſon, and where Musket ſhot makes nō diſtinction betwixt private Souldiers and Generalls of Armies. It might alſo happen; that if the juſtice of God did particularly conſider that death; It was to correct a man whoſe Revolt did ſo much evill to his King,

Book II.

Tenebræ, latibulum ejus.

Book II. King, and cost so dear to his Country; or more likely as a Revenge for *Lombardy* which he deserted to be spoyled with Cruelties and Rapines, and not to suffer his perjury to passe unpunished when he promised *Milan* t'ease it of the Garrison that devoured it, and to draw from it willingly, the last drops of its bloud, and what remained in it of Substance.

The Sixteenth Discourse.

The defence of Gaston *of* Foix *against them, who say that God punished him for making warre to* Julius *th'*eleventh *with the comparison of that Prince, and of the great Captain.*

I Am sorry that *Gaston* of *Foix* is placed amongst th' Examples whom they say God hath punished for having made Warre. The respect I bear the vertue of that Prince; The great things he did in his very youth, and the value some Lords of *France* have with me; being of his bloud, and who have with him the same Originall, are the causes that I will defend him here of Calumny, and averre that he had the Noblest Death and most glorious Life for the time it lasted, that History makes mention of, or fame doth publish; 'Tis certain that *Gaston* made warre in a time when the Nations of Christian Princes were confused, and their passions very different for th'Interests of th'*Holy Chaire*. *Julius the second*, who was then in the Chaire, seemed to have forgot what he was; and to have renounced the Quality of common Father to make himselfe, Head of a party; or at least Member of a League formed against *France*; The jealousie he had to see us in the heart of *Italy*; The implacable hatred he bore to the *King*, and the effects whereof he had made him to feel in the person of the *King* of *Navarre*, whose kingdome he had interdicted; Obliged *Lewis the twelfth* to prepare against the Tempest that threatned him, t'exercise the Right of Nature, and t'oppose force to force, and to repaire to counsel to stop the violencies of th' Armies of th' *Holy Chair*, which *Julius* had on foot, not t'heal but to kill; not to edifie, but to destroy.

In this occurrence, when the Right seemed to be of *Lewis*'s side, *Gaston* had the command of th'Army in *Italy*. And though the subject ought not to discourse upon the designe of his Master', when he ought to follow without enquiry whither he goes, and that the Law which ought to be observed, doth not alwaies declare the vertues of what it ordains; *Gaston* executed the orders of the King in a cause evident-

evidently lawfull. To whom he owed obedience, even in Matters whoſe right had been ambiguous, and juſtice doubtfull; That if he were ſlaine at the battell of *Ravenna*, and periſhed in an Occaſion whereunto no perſon goes not to dye, but t' overcome, as he did, The chance of Armes hath ſo ordained it, and his Death was the more noble, that it encounterd with his Duty, and that he was ſlain in the Exerciſe of his Charge. Book II.

I ſpeak not at this time of other Circumſtances, which make his death glorious. To dye at th' age of two and twenty yeares, being almoſt aſſoon Captaine as Souldier; having almoſt at the ſame time put forth flowers, and brought forth fruits; after a Number of Victories whereof none were ſmall, and the leaſt might have laid a foundation, of Reputation for an eminent perſon; and in the midſt of a proſperity ſo conſtant, that it was never in the power of fortune t' interrupt it; and ſo ſuddaine and Impetuous, that ordinarily the laſt ſucceſſes troad upon the former without Interruption, and the newes followed one another without Intervall. Add to this, th' Eſteem his virtue had gained when he dyed; the feares and hopes it diverſly occaſioned in the world; and the contrary paſſions it produced in equall degree in the ſoules of his Friends and Enemies. It was ſuch, that the *French* could not rejoyce in the Battell they had gained, becauſe that Prince dyed there. That *Lewis the twelvth* wiſhed the like Victories to his Enemies to ruine them; and, what is moſt eminent and remarkable, That it forced *Ferdinand* of *Caſtille* to reconcile himſelfe to the great Captaine, and to withdraw him from that Retiredneſs to which a jealouſie of State had confined him, to ſend him back to *Naples* and t' oppoſe *Gaſton*, if he had longger lived; That it conſtrained an old Man, and a Soveraign Prince to ſuppreſſe ſo imperious a paſſion, and to reſtore t' Imployment one of his ſubjects whoſe greatneſs was in jealouſly with him. To dye in that high Reputation, and go out of the world, before tryall was made of the Revolutions of it; If it be a ſtroak of vengeance from Heaven, and the price of ſome great Crime; Let generous ſoules, that have th' appetite for Glory, and ſome Reſentment of honour, be Judges of it.

Since we have ſaid that *Gonſalve* was to paſſe into *Italy* t' oppoſe *Gaſton*, and that *Ferdinand* had deſigned him that Great adverſary, if he had out-lived the journey of *Ravenna*; Lets obſerve a little on whom in that warr th' advantage might have reſted, and on what ſide the victory have leaned, in a Difference where the Parties were ſo equall.

Book II. It may not peradventure be amiſſe to divert the Reader with pleaſure, and t' entertaine him with a piece not unpleaſant, though of no relation to the work. *Titus Livius* hath ſometimes done the like amongſt th' Ancients, and *Paruta* amongſt the Modernes, and I cannot be much blamed in th' Imitation of them, nor t' have failed after two ſo great Examples. Tis true, that the ſubject which I ſhall treate upon is extreamely ambiguous and much troubled. If it be nevertheleſſe lawfull to ground ſome judgment upon the future, and to caſt our eye upon the thing collected; Tis probable, that the virtue of *Gonſalve* had given place to that of *Gaſton*; that it had given him the field; and that fortune would not have abandoned a young ſervant, that knew how to make uſe of her favours, for a perſon that made no eſteem of it, and was compelled to retire in the midſt of Enjoyment. The long time that had paſſed wherein *Gonſalve* had not made warr, and the great Ceſſation, in a profeſſion that affords alwayes ſomewhat to be learnt; had without queſtion much changed him from what he was: And as Iron ruſtes, when it is not handled, and Aire corrupts, that is long ſhut up and putrifies; ſo th' Art of making warr is unlearnt, if it be diſcontinued; and military Abilities are weakened, if they are not exerciſed.

Secondly, Age that hath the property to take away the good ſenſe, and to ripen prudence; hath alſo the defect to freeze the blood, and the ſpirits, and to weaken th' active Qualities, which are the Chiefeſt principles of Execution, and the neareſt Cauſes of Victories. Inſomuch that the Coldneſs of Age, if it have nothing but experience, prevents ſometimes the committing of faults, but not alwayes the ſuffering of Loſſes, and is not capable of Enterprizes that are not happy, becauſe they are bold; nor of Certaine deſignes wherein there's leſſe need of Circumſpection then of Courage. We have alſo ſeen a great number of Brave perſons whoſe Age hath taken away their Reputation, and whoſe Glory hath been effaced by long Life. We have no example of this truth more viſible then that of *Marius*. His valour accompanied alwayes the diſpoſition of his Temper, It entertained it ſelfe in his faireſt yeares, and fell in the fall of his body, and in the cadency of his Age. It hath alſo been obſerved, that the greateſt part of Conquerours, and vanquiſhers of Nations, did not attaine th' Age of ſixty yeares; and that Many of them have finiſhed their dayes much ſhort of that time by naturall death, or by a precipitated or violent End. *Cæſar*, *Charles the fifth*, *Francis the firſt*, *Henry the fourth*, and the laſt *Prince* of *Orange*, failed betwixt fifty and ſixty

ſixty yeares. And one of theſe ſtayed not to give over buſi- Book II.
neſs, till he was in Condition no longer to retaine it; nor to give over his greatneſſe, till death would have taken it from him; But by a Prudence, higher then that of the world, and by Motives more generous then thoſe that had made him t' undertake ſo great things; He quitted the functions of th' Empire, t' exerciſe them onely of a Man; and choſe rather t' end his Life in th' humility of a Religious perſon, then with th' Ambition of a Monarch.

The Prince of *Parma*, who had th' honour, to give Life to the Military diſcipline of th' Ancients, and to advance that faire work which the Prince of *Orange* had finiſhed, dyed at th' age of Eight and forty yeares. And 'tis true, That his Glory began to decline, that th' affaires obeyed him no more, as they had before done; and that his laſt deſignes had neither the good fortune of Event, nor the grace of Execution as the former had; *Alexander*, *Germanicus*, *The Marquis of Peſſary*, and *Don John of Auſtria* have encountred the ſame period of Life, and a death almoſt alike. All four paſſed not the Age of thirty and three yeares; and all four fell rather by the Malice of others, and with great ſuſpition of poyſon, then by the fault of their Complexion or by open force.

This rule nevertheleſſe is not ſo generall, that it admits not of Exceptions; and there all valours, which reſiſt the Ruine of the body, and th' injuries of Age they maintaine themſelves in ſpight of the Time. Inſomuch, that 'tis not the blood that heats them, but reaſon that enlighteneth them; And without ſpeaking of the preſent Age, the paſt hath produced a Conſtable of *Mountmorancy* and a *Duke of Alva*, who have preſerved an entire Reputation to the very extremity of Age; whoſe laſt actions have been the Crownes of the firſt, and the Concluſion of life, the glory of all the reſt. This nevertheleſſe is very pure, and tis otherwiſe true, That fortune hath been pleaſed to favour young Captaines, when they were wiſe againſt th' old, who have not the Courage ſo active, nor the Virtue ſo violent. And by conſequence there's ſome apparance, that ſhe would have declared for *Gaſton*, and been of his party againſt the *Great Captaine*.

Thirdly the great Captaine came to the Government of an Army whoſe officers and ſouldiers were ſcarce known unto him, nor had th' army other knowledge of him then his Reputation and Glory. Inſomuch that 'tis a Queſtion, if there had been any Sympathy at leaſt at his firſt comming betwixt th' head and the Members, whether their Manners had agreed, and the Proportion had been adjuſted to the Com-

mand

Book II. mand and obedience. *Fourthly*, he came to Command an Army shattered and of unfortunate Troops; and he was necessitated at the same time to fight the despaire of his souldiers, and the boldnesse of his Enemies. On the Contrary *Gaston* was in Exercise, and in breath, and the warr he carried into the kingdome of *Naples* had been but a Consequent of his good fortune, and the Continuation of that. He newly finished most happily in *Romagna*: He exercised a Soveraigne power in his Army: He had th' heart of all his Souldiers: they loved him as their Companion, and respected him as their Generall: His beauty and good fashion, and the other Graces of the body which render virtue the fairer, and in an age when they make strongest Impression, and have an action more lively: His beauty that was extreame and just; that was neither excessive, nor retentive; who knew how to give much, and to distinguish of Persons; who obliged honest Persons, and contented the covetous. His Courtesie was capable to compell his Enemies to change their passion, and so wish him in the practise of it; Th' Eloquence wherewith he changed the spirits of Men, prepared Courages for him as he would have them; and brought Moderation t' impetuous spirits, and boldness to the fearefull. All these Qualities, I say, together, might give him hopes to lead his army as farr as humane force could go, and he ought not to have proposed any difficulties to himselfe but impossibilities.

Briefly, Th' opinion the souldiers had of his Fortune and Virtue, and th'Experience they had so often made of Th' one and th' Example he had given them of Th' other; Enabled them to dare all dangers under so valliant a Commander, and t'hope all good successe under so happy a Commander.

From all these Conjectures, I conclude very rationally, that the death of *Gaston*, hath been the good fortune of *Gonsalve*. That if *Gonsalve*, deserved to be compared to *Scipio*, That our Heroique *Gaston*, if he had lived long, had deserved preference to both of them. And if the greatness of things he ought to have done, were to be judged by them he had done; That none of th' ancient Captaines had surpassed him in the Glory of Armes, and that He had surpassed all the Moderne Captaines.

Conside-

Book III.

Considerations upon the principall things which the King hath done, since the Landing of th' English in th' Ile of Rhé, *which will declare some Conditions necessary for a Minister of State.*

The third Book.

The First Discourse.

Of what Importance, Care and Vigilancy are, for a Minister of State; and that nothing is to be neglected, principally in Warre.

CAre, Labour, and Vigilancy, are not things purely spirituall; The body seems therein to have the best part, and if they derive their Originall from th' understanding. they determine in the matter, and sensible objects do bind them; They are the neerest causes of execution, and without them a Minister of State may perad venture be wise, but can never be happy. On the contrary; there's no difficulty, nor resistance which may not be forced by their aide; with them fortune is constrained to follow; Good counsells are assured; Bad are corrected; Things are supported and overthrown; and that form is almost given to business which is proposed; 'Tis then of great Concernment to neglect nothing that may be profitable, That no accident is to be esteemed smal, if it may incommodate; That every moment ought to be of precious esteem, if it be necessary for us. And that the *Maxim* of Morality be remembred, *That evill is raised out of the least defect in things; and that Good to be such requires that every part be entire and sound.*

Above all, in great misfortunes, & in the violence of fortune

Book III. that all advizes must be heard; and all things attempted, though they seem impossible; For then, much must be hazarded, provided that it be not all, unlesse we are constrained thereunto, and cannot save our selves but in running a course to destroy our selves. Moreover, we ought t' imitate the *Wise Physitian*, who will never ordain dangerous Remedies, and whose operation is doubtfull, but they will trye diverse, of whose goodnesse they may not be fully assured but that they shall not kill if they heal not, and will not make th' evill worse if they do not ease it; In a word, 'tis not to be believed what great and incredible effects are produced by an exact care, by a constant diligence, by an infatigable contest, and by that prudent inquietude which alwaies acts, which forgets nothing, which never gives it selfe liberty, and forceth at last what holds too fast, and draws what will not follow.

Cæsar was incomparable in these Qualities, as in all other that forme a great Captain. No person ever took more pains in the Warre; or exercised more functions together in his Army, nor that more desired to be present in all occasions, or that was more obstinate t'execute his resolutions, not to retire when he was once advanced, and not to stand in the midst of an enterprize; 'Tis true that he deliberated much before he undertook any thing, and did not cast himselfe blindly upon any designe; He did not prepare to make war after he had begun to make it; The provisions answered alwaies to the time, he had forecast to make them continue; and th'execution never deceived his providence. But after that he lost not a moment of time, nor an occasion of advantage, and never remitted to the next day what he might execute the same day. He seldome trusted but to his eyes and judgement, and for the most part he went in person to view the Country he would assault, and th' enemies he was to fight. When th' occasion prest, he made incredible Marches. He passed Rivers by swimming, t' avoid going about to gain Bridges; He crossed the Seas in small Vessels to make the more diligence, and chose rather to sayl in Storms, then suffer his businesse to run hazard; and to put his person in danger, rather then his fortune: And it must not be a wonder, if in his profession he left all the men in the world behind him; And if it hath been doubted, To whom the victory had remained, if *Alexander* had made Warre to the growing Common-Wealth; No Question can be made but he was inferiour to *Cæsar*, who destroyed it in its most vigorous Age, and in th'excesse of its force, and made it fall from th'height of its greatnesse, and from the top of its Power.

On

On the contrary, the reason why the Reputation of so many Men, is seen to passe with the time, and their glory t' extinguish; 'Tis the diminution of Labour, and the default of Vigilancy; This diminution & default proceed from severall causes. The first is, that as in the condition of particular persons, a mans fortune doth not alwaies advance with equall pace, and with an uniforme progresse; That it stops toward th' end or moves slowly, though it come with impetuosity and swiftnesse: Insomuch that he who burnt with impatience in the beginning to quit poverty, and laboured with Zeal to become Rich; So soon as his desire is satisfied, and that he sees himselfe in plenty, H' abates of his cares, and would enjoy with rest th' fruits of his industry. So the man whose spirit is possessed with the passion of glory, and meditates the great actions which do beget it; when he hath attained his end; That he hath filled the World with the reputation of his vertue, and hath formed in himselfe a great opinion of himselfe; Th' hunger of honour which pressed him at first, becomes moderate; and by consequent, his first contest weakens, and his ordinary diligence diminisheth. Book III.

A second cause of this diminution, is Age; and 'tis no wonder, if the body which destroyes it selfe grieves the Soul; and if it operate not with the same vigour, as it did, when th' Organs are spoyled, and th' instruments of use weare out; This rule nevertheless is not absolutely true, and hath its exceptions, as I have said elsewhere.

A third cause are the diseases; which produce the same effects, and more dangerous then Age, because they produce them more suddenly, and with more violence; and 'tis not possible, that in the griefe of the body, and weaknesse of nature, a man can intend things, that are without him, and at the same time contest with the disease and businesse. Besides, what hath been said before of *Phillip the second*, The *Spaniards* have also observed, that their affaires in the *Low Countryes* declined with th' health of the *Prince* of *Parma*, and began to change when he began to be sick; and nevertheless being of a very vast spirit, and active humour, He would not abate any thing of his accustomed occupations. He would do more then he could. He would retain the same authority in businesse, as when he had his health. He could not ease himselfe upon the cares of another, and thought that nothing was well done, but what was done by his Orders. When he was hurt before *Candebu*; He put the command of th' army into the hands of his Son; and in regard he was but a young Prince, and to whom experience was wanting, and that sort of

Book III of Capacity which comes not from study, or nature; He would supply that defect by his Counsells; Th' Army was at *Iuetot*, and the father at *Candebu* where he was dressed of his wound? There he would be Consulted with upon all Occurrences, and th' order for what was to be done was fetched a League off. In the mean time, the time passed in going and coming; the state of the warr changed Countenance; new Accidents demanded new Counsells, and the *Spaniards* lost faire occasions t' inomomodate us whilst they went t' aske his permission, and we made no small advantage of the Disorder of a body, that was so disunited from th' head that governed it.

But to make the benefits of Vigilancy the better t' appeare, and th' operations of that sharp virtue, and of that unquiet Prudence, which is ever in Action, which makes profit of all things; that suffers nothing t' escape, and particularly in the warr where occasions stay not and never returne, when they are once fled away; Lets demonstrate this by apt examples; When *Gaston* of *Foix* drew to the Reliefe of *Ronlogna* against th' Army of the League which had besieged it; If at th' entry of the Towne, he had drawn out to Charge th' Enemies, he had surprized them; He had defeated them without resistance, that had not been on their guards because they distrusted nothing; and the delay of one night which He gave at the Requests of his Captaines for some rest to his souldiers, ravished from us a victory which had all *Italy* for price, and cost us a little after the Life of that prince which was of more vertue then all *Italy*. Th' evening before the battell of *Jury*, The late *King* had taken his quarter at *Menoncour*; The *Marshall* of *Charters* was to discover it, and observed that his Army was weake and affrighted; *Sr.* of *Maine* nevertheless would not Charge that evening t' untire his souldiers, who were haressed with the Labour of the way, and with the long Marches they had made; in the mean time three thousand foot, and Eight hundred horse, arrived in the night to the *King*, who gave Courage with th' hopes of victory to his Army, and after prevailed for the gaine of the Battell; which they run hazard the day before to lose.

As to th' Important victories, which Care and Diligence have occasioned, and have as it were forced from the hands of destiny; I observe three famous ones amongst the *Modern* and which ought to be observed with a particular attention. The defeate of *Francis* the first before *Pavy* is without doubt, a work of th' Emperours fortune, and of the virtue of the *Marquis of Pessary*, who was one of the chiefe Commanders

Commanders of his Army. But it ought chiefly to be attributed to his Industry, and to that Indefatigable and hot humour which never gave him any Rest, which held him in perpetuall action; which exercised him day and night, and forced business t' obey him, and to come to the point he had proposed to himselfe. In that manner He overcame us against all shew of Apparance, and got the better of us, though we had then no need of any thing but patience t' overcome; That we had nothing to do but to defend our selves, and t' hinder being defeated for to defeate them: First he did beat downe the Forts which covered our Army, and rendred his Avenues safe; He advanced towards us without losse of time, or taking of rest, and before almost we could see them come. He fell into the *Kings* Quarters, and constrained him to fight, and to put t' hazard what he had assured, if he had kept his advantage. On the contrary theres no place of excuse for *Francis*, nor to palliate his blindness, and that stupid negligence, wherewith he was possessed in the midst of his Army, without knowing the State or Number of it, but by the report of his Captaines; and not knowing the designes of his Enemies, till he was not in a Condition to break them, and not being prepared to resist them but believing them too weake t' assault him. A notorious fault in Warr, wherein the necessity of fighting should never be permitted, nor t' act at the pleasure of enemies; where they ought never to be despised or esteemed weake; where th' Eyes ought to be imployed on all things, and nothing neglected, and where small Accidents are ordinarily the beginnings of great Revolutions, and th' originall of the good, or bad success of Enterprizes. The second Example is of the last *Duke* of *Guise*, when he defeated th' Army of *Germans* which came to overcome *France* under the Command of the *Duke* of *Bouillon*, and of the Baron of *Auneau*. So soon as he had discovered th' Army he never allowed it any rest, and lost not an occasion of Incommodating it; He gave it Continuall Alarmes to tire it; He had it in his Braine, when it Marched; He vexed it in its Quarters. He cut off the wayes of Provisions from all sides, and at last in three encounters at *Vimony*, at *Auneau*, and at *Mount Heliart*, dissipated the whole Army. Book III

The third Example is, the Relieve of th' *Iland* of *Rhé*. It must be acknowledged that the glory of that success, which will appeare another day a Miracle in the life of the *King*, or a fable in History, is an effect of the piety of that Prince, and a visible Argument of th' Inclination which th' heavens have for him; But it must be also confessed, that this good

Book III fortune was not given him freely, and that he hath aided th' Hands of God to work this wonder; The feaver hath newly left him: His recovery was yet uncertaine, and it was necessary for his Courage to compleate the support of his body when he put himselfe into the way to find th' *English*: what he did in an Occasion apparantly deplorable, may be judged by his accustomed Actions, which were alwayes of greatest difficulty; And though th' Actions of *Princes* resemble th' Essences which containe a great Virtue in a small Quantity; and though they do little, yet operate much by reason of the force of th' *Example*; So it is that the *King* would not have believed his Charge to have been discharged but in doing more then th' others. If he had put them onely on their way, to let them after that march of themselves; had he not alwayes served them for guid; If he had not made way for them without Interruption; and if he had not been the last to quit labour and to retire from Action. Moreover it must be further avowed, that as in th' affaires whereof we now speak, He hath forgot nothing of the duty of an Active, and labourious *Prince*, and that he hath also there Compleately served; so that th' Instruments which he there imployed, betrayed not the virtue of the principall Cause; *Monsieur* his *Brother* made his first Armes there very remarkable, and the beames of that rising valour have been so lively and pure, that it was visible they could not proceed, but from a spring extreamly faire, and that greater beginnings could not be expected from the son of *Henry the fourth*, and from the *Brother* of *Lewis the just*. As to *Sr. the Cardinal*, tis certaine that he brought unto the work an extraordinary Contest of body and spirit, and that the cares and diligence He used in that Occasion were incredible, as th' effect that did arise from them. He manadged it in such fort, as a sick person is handled, to whom so little of life remaines, that the least sinister Accident that befalls him, destroyes him; and the least things forgot of what might be Cordiall, would kill him. Two hundred postes dispatched in lesse then two Months, so many orders given, within and without the *Kingdome*; no advice neglected, that had any apparance of Good; so many vessells got together in so little Time, and so many provisions made for the revictualing of the place besiged. In Briefe, all that humane Industry hath of Invention; All that prudence hath of Conduct: All that diligence hath of activity, and all that Courage hath of boldness, employed in this Occurrence; are th' Infallible proofs of what I have said.

But t'act in this Manner; It imports that a soul be extreamly

extreamely free, and have no paſſion but for his duty; That it be not divided, and 'tis not too much, that it employes all its forces in Occaſions whereunto enough cannot be brought, and wherein th'Affairs are but imperfectly done, if any other Inclination divide them; That if we have ſeen great perſons, as *Cæſar*, burne with Love and Ambition and done incredible things; That if he gave himſelfe up to the pleaſures of ſenſe, and to the conqueſt of the World; It was that thoſe two Paſſions never entred into conteſt in his ſpirit, nor diſputed of the Victory; and when the laſt appeared, the firſt gave it place, and left the field free; yet 'tis not poſſible, but they ſavoured of the relation, and that the contagion of th'one could not but offend th'other. This hapned even to *Cæſar* as incomparable he was, and the Love of *Cleopatra* had once almoſt deſtroyed him, and had coſt him with his Life th'Empire of the World, If he had not by ſwimming, paſſed the *Nile* to ſave himſelfe. But that *Sr. the Cardinall* hath this Liberty of ſoul whereof we ſpeak, I have elſewhere ſhewed, and therefore unneceſſary to be here repeated. Book III

The Second Diſcourſe.

That the true exerciſe of Politique Prudence conſiſts in the Knowledge of Comparing things with things, and to chooſe the greateſt Good, and to avoid the greateſt Evill; And to conſider whether the Counſell Sr. the Cardinall *gave to paſſe into th' Iland of* Rhé, *was grounded upon the Rules of Prudence; And if the King did well to march into* Languedoc *after the taking of* Suze.

'TIs a ſtrange Hazard, and a hard neceſſity to be ſhut up betwixt two troubleſome extreams, and of two evills which preſent themſelves joyntly, to chuſe the leaſt. This laſt is a thing which all the World deſires to do, and for which Nature hath imprinted in us a violent and ſharp inſtinct. The leſſer Evills appeare good when they are preſervatives from greater, and phyſick is good by reaſon of the diſeaſes it is ordained againſt. But to know how to make uſe of ſo dangerous a Compoſition, to know how t'hold the Balance ſtrait, that is filled with venemous drugs, and whoſe odour ſtrikes into th'heads of them that hold it; and to diſcerne of things, whoſe quality aſtoniſheth the ſenſe and confounds the judgement, if it be not accompanied with Courage; 'Tis not th'Effect of an ordinary prudence; 'Tis not employed with leſſe difficulty though with more compleaſancy

Book III. pleasancy when good things are to be compared amongst themselves, and to discover the difference; when the spetious things are to be distinguished from the profitable; and them that have weight in them, from them that make a shew; when we are to be exercised amongst the Caresses of Fortune, and the favours which she offers us, to stop at the greatest of them.

I have observed two places amongst many others in the Life of the King, where, as I conceive, he hath divinely prospered in these two kinds of *Prudence*, as he hath made most wise choices upon the Counsels which have been proposed. Th' one upon the Counsell *Sr. the Cardinall* gave to passe part of th'Army into th'Iland of *Rhé*, to fight th' *English*, who without that had been Masters of it. T'expose of one side those brave Troops and Choyse Souldiers; sacrifice so much Nobility whereof there were Princes; To send poor Boates against a Fleet of great Ships. It seems truly to have hazarded much, and to give up too much to Fortune. But also on th' other side, who shall consider that the losse of our Troops was not infallible, but that th'losse of th' Iland was if they had not passed, That the remedy was dangerous, but that there was none other t'heal the disease, and that one part of the State was ready to be divided betwixt Domestique Rebellion and forrain Domination, if th'Iland had not been relieved; must confesse that this Counsell was not lesse commendable in the spring than in the successe. If it was very bold, it was intirely necessary, and one could not only not do better, but it could not have been well done if it had been otherwise done.

Th'other observation is in respect of the Counsell, which *Sr. the Cardinall* gave to hasten to *Languedoc* after the taking of *Zusa*; It must truly be confessed, that then there was a necessity to make a defence against the most subtile attempt & fairest shew of good, which might have seduced an understanding if it had not been very strong to make resistance. *On th'one side the State of Milan* was in prey, and that beautifull Countrey which heretofore gave so much love and jealousie to two great *Princes*, which cost *France* and *Spain* so much Bloud, and put *Christendome* so often into a Combustion to know who should have it; was ours without resistance. It depended upon the *King* in apparance to become Master, and to take revenge of th'affronts which we have received there, and of the five times that they had driven us by force out of the Countrey. It was unfurnished of men of War, and there was but some miserable Troops, that had escaped at the siege of *Casal*, and which the sole report of our Armes had

To Francis *the first, and to* Charles *the fifth.*

had overcome. All the Princes of *Italy* made us tender of their Aides, and believed that th' Hower was come to take away the Fetters from their feet, and deliver their Country from the yoak which was not naturall to it, and from that violent Domination whose shadow was dangerous t'all its Neighbours, and weakned their Liberty if not oppressed it; The *Emperour* was diverted against the *King of Denmarke*, and he could not draw his Armies from thence without abandoning his Victories, and without betraying his good Fortune. Book III

Spain had neither Men nor Moneyes; It was astonished at the losse their Fleet had newly suffered; it saw powerfull preparations in *Holland*, which threatned the Low Countries, and a formed tempest which it could not conjure down: In a word, *Milan* lost, *Naples* could not be preserved; and *Flanders* would have been lost of it selfe, in shutting up that passage, from whence it received its principall supplies to make Warre. And nevertheless this great power which gave fear to so many powers, which was formidable even to the *Turks and Barbarians of Affrica*; which is fatall to the rest of *Christian* Nations, which obliged all of them to be with us or against us; Had been beaten with that single stroake, and we had nothing more within to fear when the springs of our troubles had been stopped without, and the Instruments broak which make and nourish our divisions, and humbled th' Authors or Promoters of our civill discords. These were the thoughts that in that time exercised the spirits of many persons, and particularly of th' *Italians*; and as 'tis the custome of men t'accommodate their thoughts to their interests, and to flatter themselves in their desires, they imagined that ours were like theirs; Though in that poynt, our Interests were disagreeing. But also on th' other part, who shall consider that men must not spend their time about setting their haire, or paring their Nailes, when th' Heart and the Brain are sick; That great States never perish by a *Forraign* violence, so long as th' Interiour is in health, and th' Entrails sound, and that they ruine of themselves when the corruption is within, and th' Evill hath seised upon the Noble parts: That in long Warrs abroad, a *Prince* ought not t' engage himselfe when the Diversion is ever ready within, and that ther's a formed feaction in the middle of the State, which will not fail to disturb for to prevaile of th' Occasions. That the discontented will foment, if they dare not publique assist, and to whom strangers will give heat, or forces to disturb us by our selves; For to consume us at easie Chargges and alwaics to weaken us either by losse or victory; Who

Book III shall consider, I say, these things, will avow that the Returne of the *King* into *Languedoc* was a breake of the gaine of the decision of our Domestique Affairs & the good of Forraign Affaire. Furthermore, Could a greater misfortune befall us, then to lose the occasion of finishing the Ruine of a party, that held *France* in Langvishment more then sixty yeans, & had reduced it to a State equall to that of certain persons, who know not what health is; but are alwaies busie either t'heal th'evills they suffer, or to prevent them they feare. The conjuncture past; It was probable it would not returne of a long time, and that 'twas to no purpose t'hope or expect it; It was so contrary to that party, that it could not but be relieved from *Germany*, that laboured to defend its proper Liberty; That *England* was wearied in protecting an ill cause; That th' *Hollanders* durst not irritate *France* openly by reason of th' use they have of it; and that they have learned to regulate their Charities by their Interests, and the Zeal of Religion by the Zeal of State: That the *Spaniards* had greater action in *Flanders* & *Italy*, than they could master; and could not act against us, but with a little Money, & with vain promises.

In the third place, The Reputation of the Kings Armes was incredible, it could alone make conquests; It could overcome without fighting, and never Prince was better served of his Souldiers, or more feared of his Enemies. Our Souldiers were in heat and full of hope. The past victories were certain arguments of future, and after the taking of *Rochell*, & forceing of *Suza*, overcomming what was defended by Sea and covered with mountains; They ought not t'apprehend any thing impossible, nor any thing difficult. It was then the only proper season to defeat that party which *Sr. the Cardinal* most judicially observed, and the King most divinely made choyce of. If that expedition had been longer defer'd, the plague alone had been sufficient to force us from *Languedoc*, and to defeat our Armies; and if we had been engaged in *Italy* what had not *Monsieur of Roban* don with the Aid of strangers, which had not failed him? If the *Spaniards*, who ever promise timely and almost without deliberation; who performe slowly, and after long consultations; but who spare nothing when they are well engaged in a businesse, and have put those that serve them in a condition not to be able to repent, or unable t' unsay it; If the *Spaniards*, I say, had performed the conditions of the Treaty they had made with him, and furnished the Money they had promised. If the forces of *Savoy* had passed into *Dauphine* to joyne with him as the resolution was taken

taken; If ours had been divided within and without the *Kingdome*, and if th' hope of Change and Expectation of a better fortune, had withdrawne from their duty, them of that party which feare retained; He had without doubt broken all our designes, becauſe they were deſtitute of its Advantages; fruſtrated of forraigne promiſes; Abandoned of the ſoundeſt and moſt Conſiderable party of *Hugonotes* in the poverty of all them that aided him; and in the diſtruſt of ſome, and irreſolutions of others. In certaine Corners of a Province where he commanded, He gave ſo much trouble, that the preſence of the *King* was neceſſary, and ſix Armies to reduce him. Book III.

Moreover 'tis a great diſcourſe, to ſpeak of the Conqueſt of *Milan*, and to renew beyond the Mountaines the pretentions of our fathers; Tis a deſigne which well deſerves Conſideration before it be attempted, and requires another Conjuncture, than that wherein we are found; For who is ignorant, that tis not for the good of *France*, nor th' Intereſt of *Italy*, that the *King* be *Duke of Milan*? Who knows not that our Conqueſts, if we ſhould Maintaine them, would give greater jealouſie to the *Princes* of that Country, then the domination whereof they complaine; That they eſteeme us worſe Maſters, and more dangerous Neighbours then the *Spaniards*; and that the Manners, and Temper of the *Spaniards*, are more Conformable unto their *Flegme* and ſeverity, than our Heat and Licenſe. That they believe that we are a more certaine and aſſured Counterpoyſe to th' Ambition of others than they would be to ours; That the facility we have to make our Armies deſcend into their Countrey, and th' aboundance of men to relieve them, might give the deſire of undertaking and uſurping it; That th' occaſion ſtirres up the moſt lazie, and raiſeth the moſt ſleepy; That preſent objects do raiſe all the faculties; and that Commodity and Conveniency provoke th' Appetite of Conqueſt which is otherwiſe moderate and quiet. And though th' Ambition of the *Spaniards* hath neither Moderation nor bounds; That they deſire violently and deſire Many things; That in th' order of their Counſells which neither change nor dye, They have declared the warr t' all Nations, which hold not of them by ſubjection or dependency; ſince this End is immoveable, & that they are troubled onely in finding juſt Meanes t' attaine it; and that they ſometimes take ſuch as are not juſt, when others faile, ſince of a long time they have made love t' *Italy*. That they can no longer diſſemble their paſſion; that for ſome yeares paſt, they have put off their Maſk, and made it known that they muſt

have

Book III. have it, and enjoy it, though they should ravish it; since they are not so poor of Men as they have been, since *Germany* is for them, & that they have at their devotions that great spring of Men of warr; soit is that th' *Italians* see well, that the victories of th' *Emperour* have no deep roots, That its prosperities do yet shake; that them he holds, make great attempts t' escape him; That the *Turke*, it may be, will make him one day quit his hold, if he make an Accommodation with the *Persian*, or some *Christian* powers, that his ruine may not be so strange, as the Greatnesse to which he is arrived; and that in his Fall the wonder will not be so great, as it hath been in his Rising; In Briefe, that he cannot live allwayes; That th' Empire may passe into another House that may be Contrary to his; That may hate the *Spaniards*; That would purge *Germany* of their Garrisons, and at th' End of th' Account they shall endeavour the greatnesse of that power which in conclusion will devour them. Insomuch that th' *Italians* will be ever glad that we have a way open into their Country, not for to stay there, but to relieve them when they are assaulted, and if that little Liberty which remaind unto them be offended, they would have us love the walke, but not the stay; That we become the Rivalls but not the Masters, and that we have jealousie not for possession, but t' hinder others from taking of it; Beyond that, it must not be hoped that they favour us, or that they be not Contrary to us, and we shall labour in vaine if we labour not for them, and leave them not our Conquests. Yet we should not so easily have gained the State of *Milan* as is imagined; A number of good places would have stopped our progresse, and given Leisure to the *Spaniards* to send thither great releefs from *Flanders* and *Germany*; That if they have quitted the low Countries for a part of *Montferrat*, and exposed those faire Provinces to th' *Hollanders*, for a little Conveniency in regard of *Milan*; If th' Emperour made a shamefull peace with the King of *Denmarke* t' intend that Affaire; If he left his victories imperfect for that Cause, and plenty of forces to th' enemies of th' *Emperour* to renew the Quarrell, and to give him Trouble; what would they not have done, if the State of *Milan* had been assaulted: was it not probable that they would have set up their rest to have saved it? That they would have stirred up all th' ill humours of *France* to divert us? That our frontiers of *Champagna*, and *Burgonia* had not been safe in that warr, and instead of assaulting of them, they had, it may be, put us to the termes of defence? Insomuch that we had exposed ourselves to a present and certaine Expence for an uncertaine profit, and at a Distance; and for an affaire wherein

wherein th' Apparance of dammage which we should have run, was greater then th'hopes of gaine we could have made. And when all things should have prospered, that Wind and Tide had been for us, and that th'event of the warr had not deceived our desires nor frustrated our hopes; The fruits of the victory, and what might have been raised by our Labours had been no more at most then t' have weakened the *Spaniards* in imposing an eternall necessity of Quarrell with them, and to Consume *France* in maintaining the Conquests which should not have been ours, and t' assure to th' *Italians* the good which we should have don them. Book III

From all this I conclude, that the prudence of *Sr. the Cardinall* never appeared more eminently then in the Counsell he gave to quit th' hopes of the Conquest of *Milan*, for the Certaine reducement of *Landuedoc*, and, that it appertained onely to such Eyes as his, and to an extraordinary wisdome not to suffer himselfe to be blinded with th' Apparance of the Good which fortune offered us, and t' have preserved the *King* from so specious an Ambuscado.

The Third Discourse

That one and the same Conduct in warr is not to be observed.

IT may be also observed in that valiant resolution which the *King* took for the Releese of *Rhé*; That th' Art of making warr hath not a positive forme, and that it ought to be diversified according to the State of Occurrences. They that will commit nothing to Fortune, nor undertake any Enterprize whose event appeares not to them infallible; who labour onely to consume their enemies in temporizing; to make Benefit of their faults, and t' attend th' occasion to cast them into their nets: They I say do sometimes great things, and observe a better Conduct then they who have accustomed t' Hazard, and endeavour onely to come to stroakes; and will owe their Victories onely to their Courage, and seek dangers t' overcome with the more Glory; But as the first receive but little notable damage nor great Losses by their fault; so they faile often, t' obtain great successe by their fearefullness, and to be happy by their too great wisdome. Such have been amongst the Moderne, *Prosper Colomna* who took from us the State of *Milan*, and that of *Genes*; such, *Francis* of *Rovere*, *Duke of Urbin* who was so long Generall to the *Venetians*, and whose Memory to this day is preserved with honour, and his portraites with veneration. But beyond the two others, the *Duke* of *Alva* who allwayes

Book III preferred the slow means when they were sure, to the quick that were to be suspected, and never so little dangerous; Who was a great husband of the bloud of his, though he had a very bloudy humour; who did never cast enemies into despaire, when he had taken their Courage from them; and who hath often refused advantages which fortune offered him, because he could not receive them without some danger, and that he distrusted some Ambush; Such had been also amongst us, *Th' Admirall of Coligny*, if he had been absolute over th' Armies he commanded; and if he had not governed a people, that were Indocile because they were ill pay'd or voluntaries.

They are nevertheless some considerations to be raised in this matter, and certaine Rules to be observed.

A Prince that hath but one Army which is the sinew of his power, and all the force of his State, that hath not Money to raise another when the first is defeated; ought never t'hazard it: nor give the Command to a Commander of an hot humour, or that hath the Spirit agitated with an excessive desire of glory. The *Venetians* complain to this day of *Asuiane* and of his Courage; His conduct was fatall for being so bold: It made them lose at one blow all their firme Land, and put them another time upon the Borders of their Ruine. And nevertheless all *Historians* agreed, that that person had done wonders under a Prince that could have hazarded much. That his vertue was worthy of the fortune of a Conquerour; and that in the journey to *Marignan* his arrivall with five hundred Horses put in disorder all the *Suisses*, and made fall in our side the Balance where the victory was hung. In the weakness wherein th' *Hollanders* found themselves, and in the small means which they had to renew their Armyes, The dead *Prince* of *Orange* hath ever been very backward to give Battell. Even that of *Newport* which he gained was not without some staine, and some shadow of Imprudency, and he hath been condemned in suffering himselfe to be forced to fight; and reduced to a Necessity, wherein there was to be feared more ill in losing then hope of good in obtaining the victory. But however a very few persons have been long in that profession but have committed some fault, or fell into some Misfortune.

At the Battell of Giragdale *& that of* Vicenna.

Another occasion wherein this slow Conduct is very profitable; and where a victory is to be obtained without fighting if it be possible, and to be expected without forcing it to come, is, when we have to do with heady and hot Enemies. But in that case also its necessary that they who

are

are to be commanded be capable of a great Patience, Book III
that there be wherewithall to make them long subsist, and that the faylor of necessary provisions oblige them not to disband. It was th' Advantage the Duke of *Alva* had in the Warrs he commanded, and if *Francis the first* had brought a little lesse heat and precipitation then he did before *Pavia*, and suffered th' Imperiall Army to consume which sustained it selfe only upon th'Hopes of a Battell; He had not filled the vegeance of one of his subjects, nor compleated in the spirit of th' *Emperour*, the designe of the Universall *Monarchy*. With tumultuary Armies which are not to stay long in *COMPAIGNA*; which do only passe and poure in and steal out quickly; Care must be had not to come to blowes: Passage must be given to them; They must be used like Torrents, which are permitted to run without resistance, and to whom no opposition is made when they swell and overflow. Such have been heretofore th' Armies of the *Suisses*, when that Nation disdained all others; and boasted never to have gone out of their Country but to suppresse th' excesse of Princes, and to defend the weake from the violence of the powerfull, and from the designes of th'Ambitious.

Other Nations have had in this matter ill opinion of ours, and believed that we were not capable of patience or order. But if the *Marshall* of *Monlue* be to be believed, and what is seen every day in *Holland*, and what of late hath been in *France* and *Italy*; Our Souldiers are capable of all things, when they are under good Commanders; and that there's no Nation that takes sooner then ours, the vices or virtues of their Commanders. However, a great Captain ought ever to be Master of his Art, and above all the formes of making Warre, without being subject to any; He ought to change them according to th' occasion, and know diverse means, and many wayes t'attain his end, and gaine the victory. By such expedients *Cæsar*, rendred himself admirable to all people, and Ages. He diversified his conduct better then any man in the World. He gave not the same forme to all his designes, nor the same countenance; Industry or Courage, Patience or force served him equally. One while he assaulted his Enemies with Retrenchments and Forts; He Laboured chiefly to take th' *Advantage* of places, and to seize upon the most commodious *Postes*. He cut off the Springs of Victuals, and of all other necessaries, and forced them at last to the necessity of rendring, having taken from them the Means of retyring, and th'hope of fighting; He gained his end in that manner of *Petreius* and *Aphranius* whom he besieged

Book III sieged in the midst of a *Compagna*, and from whom he shut up so dexterously all passages, and all Avennues that being but halfe a Mile from a River, they dyed with thirst, and were overcome for want of that whose abundance is almost in all places; sometimes he overcame his Enemies by storming of them; He made them fall without Myning; His victories were infamous for flesh and bloud, and the most mercifull of all men seemed to be come into the World to decline it, and to have been born for the Ruine of mankind. The dead King had reduced almost to the like extremity the Prince of *Parma* at *Juetot*, and all believed infallibly, that he must dye of hunger and thirst, or render at discretion, or be defeated in giving Battell. But the designe of the King had not th' event answerable to *Cæsars*, no more then the vigilancy of his Captains was conformable to that of th'other; The *Prince of Parma* deceived them and exchanged subtilties. He fortified the place he meant to quit, for to make them believe that he would defend himself in it; and his Army had passed the River and made its retrait, before the first News came to our Army; Fatal and un-heard of Negligence for an Army that touched ours, and was invested, and which was suspected of designe, in some of the Commanders that governed it.

Amongst the *Modern*, I see no Generall that hath surpassed *Ferrant Gonsalve*, nor any person more universall in th' Art of making Warre; I have not seen any person that commanded his forces to better purpose, or made better use of Patience. With those two Qualities he alwayes overcame us, and hath taken a Kingdome from us. He hath done us as much hurt in making us suffer, as in acting against us, and hath consumed us when he was not strong enough to defeat us. Nothing almost hath been read like to the Resolution He exprest at *Cinture*; where we had reduced him to the last paine of Misery. He was invested with our Troops; The Plague and Hunger was in his Army; He was drowned with continuall Raines, sunke in the durt; exposed to all th'injuries of a Rude Winter. In brief, he had against him th'elements of Men. And nevertheless, at length we were more a weary t'incommodate him, then he was to suffer, and destroyed us by the course we made Choice of to ruine him. But when open force was to be employed, and true Valour set a worke; who ever performed it with more Courage or judgement then he? Hath ever a more generous voyce been heard from the mouth of a Captain then the answer he made at *Cirignolle*, to him who advised him to draw back;

and

and t' abandon a *Poste* he could not maintain but with great danger; *He had rather, said he, find Death and his Grave an hundred Paces beyond it, then to lengthen his Life many years in retraiting ten Paces and turning his back to his Enemies.* And, before the Battail of *Garillan*, He answered him that would have diverted him from fighting, and giving of Battail, who presented unto him, that he was weake in respect of us, and the Match ill made betwixt his Army and ours, *That he knew of what importance that Daye's Labour was to his Master's Affairs; and that he was resolved to perish that day, or overcome.* Book III

'Tis true then, that there are Occurrences, wherein somewhat is to be submitted to Fortune: Where the lesse is to be hazarded to save the greater: And where when the Question is of the whole Affair, not onely a part of the Forces is to be hazarded, but also the Generalls of th' Army; and those precious heads which command so many other heads ought to take resolution rather to dye, than see the Victory in th' Enemies hands, and t' outlive it at their Losse. So did *Cæsar* in *Spain* at the Battell where the Children of *Pompey* were slaine, and the rest of that miserable Common-wealth finished their dest uction; so did *Monsieur of Andelot*, when he defended *Orleans* against th' Army of the *Duke* of *Guise*: So did the *Prince of Parma* at the siege of *Antwerp*, after that the *Hollanders* were seized of one part of the Ditch, & that th' Engine which they made to play, had made them flye which defended it; *Th' one and th' other* run with Swords in their hands to the Danger; both were then transported; Declaring that he would dye, if it were impossible for him t' overcome, and made appeare by his action somewhat that savoured of despaire, or rather of that excesse which Philosophy attributes to the *Heroes*, and distills into the souls of extraordinary persons. Th' example of that pathetique virtue, and of that generous emotion was not barren. The Souldiers that saw it, felt the same heat, and by that means some of them forced th' Enemies from the Town where they were far entred, and others Recovered the Ditch where th' *Hollanders* began to fortifie after they were lodged in it; Lets conclude then with th' Examples of the greatest persons of Antiquity, and with the first of the Moderne, That the passage of our Army into th' Iland of *Rhé* was not projected by chance, and without th' Advice of Reason; That it hath not been th' Effect of a light, troubled by ill successe, and of a Discourse confuted by ill fortune; but of a Resolution illuminated by that high prudence, which diversifieth its conduct according to the diversity of accidents which happen; which shifts sayles according t' th' nature of the Winds

Book III which Reign: Which knows t'apply Remedies to the ſtate of the Maladies; which dares quit th' High-wayes, when'tis expedient to take the By-paths, and which guides not alwayes common virtues, but ſometimes inſpires, and gives birth t'Heroique perſons.

The Fourth Diſcourſe.

Of the Alliances of bloud which are practiſed amongſt Princes; and whether the King was well adviſed when he made that Allyance with England.

I Treat at large th'Allyances of State in the ſecond part of this work, and particularly of that we have with the *Turke*, and with the Republique of *Holland*. There I do cleer many Doubts which reſpect the Soul, and take away the ſtones of offence whereat they ſtrike, who have not known the foundation, and ſtumble for want of Light. I give nevertheleſs nothing to conveniency that is contrary to juſtice, and flatter not the conduct of them who ſubmit all other Reaſons to that of State. I take nothing there, from God to give it to *Cæſar*, I hold the juſt Balance, and ſtay at the temper which God hath adviſed, in the prudence of Serpents and the ſimplicity of Doves. Here I have thought it expedient, to ſpeak of th' Allyances, which are practiſed in the families of Princes, to juſtifie that which hath been made with *England*. All the ſpirits that were formalized at it, are not yet ſatisfied. The Wounds which are ſhut up leave all wayes ſome marks; Some maligne impreſſion remains a long time after a poyſon is driven away; and ordinarily the opinions that are left, part not ſo neatly, but ſome impreſſion remains. On th'other ſide, they that have obſerved the ſequells of th' Alliance whereof we ſpeak; who have ſeen the Deprædations upon our Seas, and th' Invaſions of our Ilands, and th'other enterprizes th'*Engliſh* have made upon us; Who have underſtood, that their Miniſters of State manadged that buſineſs with poyſoned hands; that they did undermine us when they ſeemed to help us; That they ſtretched the Cloath whereof they were after call'd Merchants, and laid the foundation of the War which they made againſt us. Theſe I ſay, have believed that there was ſomewhat wanting in the prudence of our Miniſters of State, and that th' houſe was ill built that fell ſo ſoon to Ruine. Wherefore having diſcourſed of that Warr; I thought this the proper place to ſpeak of the Alliance which did precede it.

I ſay then, that th' Alliances of bloud which are entertained

ed amongſt Princes ſerve very little to divert their deſignes, Book III
or to change their Inclinations. The diſpoſitions they find in their ſpirits are there left; They put up nothing, but at moſt palliate them, and ſuſpend for ſome time th' Action of the Cauſes which they cannot take away; And though it falls out otherwiſe in the Condition of particular perſons, no Conſequence is to be drawne for that of Princes. The Quality of *Soveraignes* which Princes ſuſtaine, hath priviledged Duties, and begets paſſions to which all others are ſubalterne. The King in this is above Man. The Conſideration of Parentage is inferiour to that of the State, and th' Obligations of blood which are bounded in a few perſons ought to give place to th' obligations of the Charge, wherein an infinite of Perſons are Intereſſed. To that truly, Princes need not to be Exhorted; They are but too much carried to it naturally; They ordinarily offend leſſe againſt their Dignity by default, then by exceſſe. The love they have for it, degenerates rather into Jealouſie, then into Idleneſs. And if you would have them forſake their intereſts, and the good of their affaires; It muſt be under the ſhew of ſomething that reſembles it: And 'tis not the will, that a Man ought to propoſe to himſelfe to be gained, but th' underſtanding, which is by Endeavour to be ſeduced; But 'tis true, that of too Extreams which bound the duty of Princes, they carry themſelves oftneſt to th' Exceſſe, and that the paſſion for Commanding preſerves not onely what belongs to them, but makes uſurpations upon all the Rights of Reaſon; upon all the priviledges of Humane Society, and upon all the Reſpects, which are brought by Relations. Th' Examples are ſo ordinary that a Man muſt have ſeen or heard nothing to call it in Queſtion. I will not ſpeak of what hath paſſed in the time of the *Pagans*, nor of that Ambitious *Roman* who cauſed her Chariot, to be drove over the Body of her *Father*, to whoſe kingdome her Husband ought to ſucceed. I paſſe by that which they might have done who thought, that the glory of Command was the ultimate End of Man, and Ambition ſomewhat a nobler and a better thing then juſtice. But even amongſt the very *Chriſtians*, and in th' houſes which Piety hath made famous, that Paſſion hath been ſeen t' overflow to the prejudice of blood, and violate th' holieſt lawes of Nature, and which the very barbarous people Reverence. I will recite here a Memorable Example. 'Tis a thing ſufficiently known in the world what th' houſe of *Auſtria* was to th' Alliance of blood; and if devotion, as tis ſaid, hath been the foundation of Greatneſs, 'tis well known, that Alliance hath built it up, and carried

Book III carried it from a Moderate beginning to that high Power wherein 'tis seen, and to that vast domination for which th' Heaven hath *no Horizon*, nor th'earth Limits. *Maximilian the first* hath gained by that means the *Low Countries*, and those faire Provinces which by their fertility, and by the wealth wherewith they abound, have deserved to be called th' *Indies* of *Europe*. *Philip the first* and his posterity have obtained by it all *Spaine*, and those Countryes of the new world, where the sun in retiring from us goes to beget Gold, and those other unprofitable things whereof men are Idolaters. *Philip the second* came to the Crown of *Portugall* by that meanes; and to all those States which that Nation possessed in *Asia*, in *Afrique*, and th' *East Indies*. That very Prince thought t' incorporate *England to Spaine* by the marriage of *Mary* his first wife, that was Queen thereof. But the judgments of God in that supplanted the prudence of men, and permitted that Princesse to dye without Children, either to suppress the growth of a Power which would have been fatal to the Liberty of *Christian* Nations, or for the punishment of the Iniquities of th' *English*, and that base Compliance, wherewith they had received the Schism which *Henry th' Eighth* introduced amongst them, and applauded the passions of that Prince who chose rather to quit the Church, then to separate from a Concubine. The same *Philip* also aspired to the Crown of *France* for his Children, by reason of the Marriage of his third wife daughter of *Henry* the second; and the most important Article wherewith th' Instructions of the *Duke* of *Feria* were Charged when he came to *Paris* during the league, was, to cause the *Salique* laws to be Abolisht, and to root out from the spirit of the *French* their Aversion of having no *Soveraignes* that spin, and of not submitting to th' yoak of Women. Insomuch, that it hath been allwayes the designe of the *Spaniards*, and a premeditated prudence of the *Princes* of th' house of *Austria* to look about them, and to cast their nets upon the parties that could joyne some new estate to theirs, and under a Title so innocent and just t'extend their domination. With what heat did they labour to cause the eldest Daughter of *Lewis the twelfth* to be given to *Charles the fifth* who brought for her Dowry the *Dutchesse* of *Britanny* and of *Orleans*, and our pretentions for *Italy*? How many propositions were made upon that foundation, and how many treaties concluded, which the Time hath made abortive, and which Fortune laughed at; Nevertheless as they have been ever Industrious to draw to them as much as they could, th'estates of their Neighbours, They have been also carefull, not to permit any of theirs

to

to be alienated, nor to ſuffer any diviſion without knowing the Meanes of Conſolidating it; and to deſtroy the divided Members, and the looſe pieces. Book III

Th' Emperour Charles never promiſed the *Low Countryes*, or the *Duthy* of *Milan* upon the Marriage of his daughter, or of his Neece with the ſon of *France*, but with Intention to break his promiſe, or at leaſt with hopes, that *Fortune* which had done ſuch ſtrange things, in his favour; that had ſo often given the Lye to Apparences, and diſturbed th' order of things for the Love of him, and which had ſometimes ſent him proſperities which he deſired not, would exempt him from that Obligation under ſome plauſible pretence, as it did. And when *Philip the ſecond* tranſmitted the Low *Countryes* to th' *Arch Dutcheſſe* for her Dowry; There's apparence that he was aſſured, that time would make up that Breach, and that he made not ſo great a wound in the reſt of his Eſtates without preparing the Remedies to heale it. But to returne to my deſigne, and make it appeare, That th' Alliances of blood, work ſoftly upon the ſpirits of *Princes*, and are but weake bonds t' hold their Amities; I will repreſent th' originall, and th' effects of that which hath been the moſt profitable to th' houſe of *Auſtria*, and it may be the moſt dammageable to the Chriſtian Common-wealth. *Philip the ſon of th' Emperour Maximilian, married Joane youngeſt Daughter of Ferdinand and Iſabella, Kings of all the dominions of Spaine.* Th' Eldeſt was married into *Portugall* according to their Cuſtſtome. The Catholique *King* had alſo a ſon called *John* who dyed young, and whom *Spaine* ſaw almoſt as ſoon put out as ſhine, and had almoſt at one time the Contentment to ſee him come, and the Griefe to loſe him; Preſently after the death of that *Prince*, th' Arch *Duke Philip*, and Arch *Dutcheſſe his wife* who lived onely by the love ſhe bare to her husband, and was Idolatreſſe of all his motions and paſſions, cauſed themſelves to be Called Princes of all the Dominions of *Spain*, to the prejudice of the Queen of *Portugall*, to whom the Crownes did belong in priority of birth to her ſiſter. That attempt ill digeſted & out of ſeaſon, and that precipitated Ambition, diſpleaſed Infinitely *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, who judged of the Tree by the fruits, and gave their ſon in Law and daughter t' underſtood, that they were to leave that borrowed Title, and to put off that imaginary Quality, and which did not belong to them. Behold a very pleaſant Beginning of *Philips* Ambition, ſince it made Invaſions upon its owne Relations, and the firſt ſhew of that furious Appetite to reigne which hath vexed his Poſterity; After that he guided his Intereſts apart from them of his Father in Law;

Book III He held him alwayes at distance, he looked upon him only as a Prince which stood in his light, and there was no other Communication amongst them but a continuall Commerce of Complaints and disorders; In a Treaty which *Maximilian* and he, made at *Blois* with *Lewis the twelfth*, being permitted t' either parties, to Comprehend therein whom they would, He made no more mention of *Ferdinand*, then as if he had not related to him, or that He had been indifferent to him. He did also the same thing in another Treaty which his *Father* made at *Hugano* with the *Cardinal* of *Ambois*; so *Ferdinand* had his Revenge in disavowing the Treaty his son in Law made at *Blois* with *Lewis the twelfth* for the kingdome of *Naples*, and in Contracting a second Marriage, and marying of *Germania* sister of *Gaston* of *Foix*, and Neece of *Lewis*, with Conditions that were Advantageous to us, if they had been observed. That which I have said nevertheless was nothing in respect of what *Philip* did, since the death of *Isabella*, and after that the succession of *Castille* was open unto him. The things past were but sweetnesses for *Ferdinand* in Comparison of th' usage he received after that death. The first stroakes did scarce raise the skin, but the last entered deep and made Large and dangerous wounds. *Philip* will go into *Spaine* not onely to take possession of what was his, but to take from his Father in *Law* what belonged to him by the Testament of *Isabella*. *Ferdinand* employed all his Prudence, and all his subtilties to divert him. They Contest long upon that Article. Their wills were diametrically opposed; what th' one would not have th' other desired, and it had been lesse difficult t' accord Contraryes, and to joyne extreams, then t' adjust their pretentions. Force being wanting to *Ferdinand* t' overcome th' heat of *Philip*, He used diversion; He caused *Lewis the twelfth* t' interpose who threatens him with his Armyes, in case he went for *Spaine*, and raised the *Duke* of *Gueldiers* against him who cut him out busines in *Flaunders*, and gave him enough t' entertaine him in that Countrey.

In th' End, th' obstinacy of *Philip* being stronger then th' Artifices of *Ferdinand*, and the difficulties which stopped him being taken away or sweetned, they agreed upon the Conditions of his journey. Thereupon *Philip* put himselfe on the way, but with a resolution to break the Treaty he had made, and not performe th' Oath he had given to his Father in Law, which he ought to have kept to an Enemy. Being in *Spaine* he flatters the great Persons; He unties them from *Ferdinand*; He drawes them to his party, who had but too great Inclinations for it, and were but too earnestly carried

ed t' adore the riſing Power, and a Light which began to ſhew it ſelfe; Inſomuch, that *Ferdinand* found himſelfe alone: All his friends were unfaithfull to him; all his Creatures abandoned him except th' *Arch-Biſhop* of *Toledo Ximenes*, and the *Duke* of *Alva*: ſo true it is, that there's but little Aſſurance in the will of Men, and that the Law of Intereſts is powerfull upon their ſpirits; and the Memory of Good turnes received, weake in Compariſon of future Benefits. Book III

After that, *Ferdinand* preſſeth an Interview with his ſon in Law; The Counſellours of *Philip* oppoſe it with all their powers, and raiſe troubleſome difficulties to divert it; They had ſeized upon the ſpirits of their Maſter, and taken his will from him having prepoſſeſſed his underſtanding. They were afraid, that *Ferdinand* would take off the Charme, and that the Reverence of a Father, and dexterity of a Great *Polititian* would deface that uſurped Empire, and tyrannous Domination: wherefore they omit nothing that might diſtate *Ferdinand* from the meeting he ſolicited, and which he preſſed for the Reſiſtance; They propoſe exorbitant Conditions, which he accepts of; They add ſhamefull Circumſtances which he refuſed not; They uſe him unworthily and he bears it; and a Great *King* had the diſpleaſure to receive the Law from petty Companions, who abuſed th' Inclination of an eaſy Maſter.

At laſt th' Interview being reſolved, *Ferdinand* renders himſelfe at the place appointed for that purpoſe, but with a ſmall traine, and accompanied onely with two hundred Men unarmed, and mounted upon Mules. On the Contrary, *Philip* advanceth thither, in th' Equipage of a Man of warr, with the Body of an army of *Dutch*, which Marched before him, and flanked with almoſt all the Great Perſons of *Spaine* in armes, and in the poſture of perſons who went rather to Warr, then to a Treaty of friendſhip, and to a fight rather then to a Reconciliation. The two Princes met together in a Chappell, which had been Choſen for that Interview; *Don John Manuell, principall Counſellour of Philip*, and abſolute diſpoſer of his reſolutions would aſſiſt at their diſcourſe, and but for th' *Arch Biſhop* of *Toledo*, who hindred him, He had been preſent at a Conference, which the Reſpect of proximity and the Dignity of thoſe Two *Princes*, would have to be ſecret.

After an hower and halfes diſcourſe they part, and the Conference paſſed without any mention made by *Philip* to the *Father* of his daughter, nor of *Ferdinand* to his ſon in Law of his wife. He diſſembled for that time his deſire, though he had an extreame paſſion to ſee her, and to Comfort his old

Book III old age by the sight of an Object which was so deere to him, and which was the Remainder of his substance.

There was a second Meeting betwixt these two *Princes*, wherein some demonstration of friendship appeared, or lesse coldness then at the first Interview; But the Conclusion of all the Conferences was the first designe of *Philip*, that *Ferdinand* should renounce the Government of *Castile*, notwithstanding the disposition of *Isabella*, and against the expresse Clauses of her Testament. *Ferdinand*, who had learnt t'obey the time and submit to Necessity; who knew how to strike saile when the Tempest was too strong; and to put in when it was not safe to saile; Bends under his ill *Fortune*, and resolves t'abandon *Castille* till a better season called it back, and to banish himselfe voluntarily from a kingdome which he had so long Commanded; *Philip* stops not there, He endeavours all he can to discredit the past Government, He annulls the greatest part of th' Orders his *Father* in *Law* had made; He deposeth the principall officers, and the principall Governours, which had been placed by his Hand. He would not, if possible, that one entire mark should remain, nor one visible Impression of his Administration. But it had been too little for him to have ill used his *Father* in *Law*, and his Ambition, it may be, had been pardonable; if it had at least pardoned his wife, and if he had not used her ill who had brought him so faire States, and such certaine Hopes. She was truly the Queen of *Spaine*, and who infused into her Husband, th' Authority of Government, and the Right of Commanding that Country. And nevertheless He would not suffer her in that society; He would not permit, that she who was Companion of his Bed, should be the Companion of the Scepter which he had received from her hands; and seeks shamefull pretences and odious Causes t'exclude her. A warmer love was never seen, than what that *Princesse* had for her Husband; It seemed, that she lived onely by the sight of him, and dyed when she was severed from him. That Excesse of passion and Imbecillity of soul changed in some sort her senses; and the jealousie which mingled with the troubles of his Absence, weakened a little her Braine, and changed th' Organs; and nevertheless though that defect proceeded from so honest a Cause, or so supportable; Though Compassion ought to have obliged *Philip* to cover it, if Love were wanting to do it; and though Conveniency and his honour obliged him also to that duty, when he had neither Compassion nor love; He will nevertheless that that accident be the foundation of his designe, to seize upon all th' authority and to Reigne alone. He will have his wife to

be

be entirely troubled of her ſenſes, though ſhe was onely a little weake; He will, that ſhe hath loſt all her Reaſon, though ſhe had onely diminiſhed it; That there was no Light at all, when there was onely a Miſt; and that ſhe was in a totall inability to governe, though there remained in her enough of good ſenſe t' act; For that effect, and the better t' hide his Game, he keeps her ſhut up, and permits not any perſon to ſee her of them that durſt ſpeake to her of the State of her diſeaſe. A ſtrange proceeding, to take away her Liberty, after he had taken away her Honour! and not to leave th' uſe of the firſt good of naturall life after he had ruined th' Ornament of the Civil; The *Father* durſt not open his mouth to him of it, in the firſt Conference they had together, and choſe rather to ſuppreſſe his Inclination, then to ſharpen more that ſpirit, which was but too ſharp; and to touch him in a place where he was ſo ſenſible, as I have above obſerved. In the ſecond Meeting, *Philip* obtained of him a ſecret Declaration by the which he conſented that he alone ſhould have th' adminiſtration of State, by reaſon of th' Inability of his daughter, though after he made a publique proteſtation, That his *ſon in Law* had forced from him that Declaration, and that he gave way onely to the Malice of the time, and to the violence of the ſtronger, according to the Maxime of wiſe Men. *Philip* ſtaid not there, after that *Ferdinand* was retired into *Arragon*, He would oblige the *Grandies* of *Spaine* to ſubſcribe an Act, which he had cauſed to be drawne, of the weakeneſs of the ſenſes wherein the *Queene* was fallen. But therein he found Reſiſtance. Th' *Admirall* of *Caſtille* oppoſeth it generouſly, after he had viſited that *Princeſſe*, and diſcovered that the diſpoſition of her Underſtanding was not entirely ſpoiled; Repreſented unto him, th' Inconveniencies that would ariſe from that Enterprize; The noiſe it would make in the world, and th' ill humours it would raiſe in *Spaine*, where the people love their Maſters naturally, becauſe of the Roialty they exerciſe, and reverence that Character in every perſon in whom 'tis Imprinted. Book III

At laſt, to give the world the finall Example of ingratitude, and an Eminent evidence of the power of Jealouſie, to reigne without a companion when it hath taken poſſeſſion of the ſoul; He would cauſe his wife to be declared troubled in her ſenſes in full aſſembly of the States, and by Conſequence unable to governe, which he could not obtaine. There was his acknowledgment of th' incomparable fidelity of that *Princeſſe*, and the paiment of the moſt violent and durable love, that ever wife bare to a Husband. Therein

Book III was his recompence of that eternall passion which possesse her during the Life of *Phillip* to the change of his spirit; which could not be abated by his Death, and time that overcomes what is most firme in the World, and most opiniated, could never diminish. For 'tis true, that after the Death of *Phillip* which was precipitated, & which cropt him in the Flower of his Age, & with some suspition of poyson, she never forsook the body, she caused his Coffine very day to be opened; she took it with her when she travelled, and accomplished what had been prophesied by an Old Woman of *Spain*, who had said, seeing th'entry of *Phillip* into that Kingdom, and that proud Magnificence wherewith he took possession, *That he would walke there longer after his death, then during his life.* At last, after his body was laid in a Chappell of *Granada* in the *Sepulchre* of the *Kings* of *Castille*; she made her constant stay in that City, and powred out into Tears and Groans the rest of her Life, upon the Ashes of him, whom she had loved with so great Heat, and upon the Ruines of a body which she had Idolized.

To what end serves then th'Alliances of bloud, which are made amongst Princes? and since they have been instituted t'unite in friendship diverse families, and t'extend them the more, and enlarge that virtue which is one of the Principles of the civill Life, and one of the bonds of humain society; what use are they of in the condition of *Soveraigns*? They may serve much, and are not unprofitable; provided that they come not in competition with th'Interests of State, and with that invincible jealousie which Princes have for the good of their Affairs. The treaties where they intervene, are made with more reputation and dignity, They are pretious pretences to lay down Armes, which two Princes are a weary to bear; they are honest doores to let out warrs, from which otherwise they cannot retire with honour, and which they cannot Continue without dammage. And there's no resentment so just which they may not safely submit to the Consideration of the Parentage into which they enter, and of that sacred bond which is instituted to conjoyne what is divided, and t'unite the wills which are disunited. *Francis the first* recovered his liberty with more honour by Marrying the sister of *Charles th' Emperour*, and he made appeare to the World th' Esteeme he gave to his Prisoner, in seeking his Alliance. The peace of *Soissons* which followed a warr wherein the same Princes did run two great though different *Fortunes*; Th' one to lose a part of his States, and th' other of his Reputation in retiring; Had for foundation the Marriage that staid it; and which was not accomplished betwixt

Charls

Charles third ſon of France, and one of the Daughters of th' Emperour, or one of his Neeces. The peace of the Caſtle of *Cambrey* which was ſo pernicious to *France*; which took from us in one day, what we gained in Forty yeares, which being th' End of our forraigne warrs, was, it may, be the Beginning of Civill warrs; Comprehended the Marriage of *Elizabeth, Daughter of Henry th' ſecond, with Philip the ſecond King of Spaine.* Book III

The daughters which enter into *Soveraigne* Houſes may alſo do much for th' Intereſts of them from whence they come, when they ſeize upon the ſpirits of their Husbands, and gaine th' Aſcendent upon their Wills which ſometimes happens. That ſubtile *Portugeſe* which Married *Charles the third Duke* of *Savoy*, did what ſhe would with him; in the differences of *Francis the ſecond, and Charles the fifth.* And in that famous diſſention whereof *Piedmont* was ſo long the *Theater*, ſhe turned Her nephew of th' *Emperours* ſide, though the good of his affaires obliged him to be of our ſide, and made him take the moſt diſadvantagious part in a warr, wherein he had even done himſelfe wrong if he had ſtood a Neutrall. That *Lacedemonian* underſtood it better, and her Conduct was more judicious though it may be not juſt enough. Her father and Husband were *Entred* into a Quarrell, and laboured with great Obſtinacy the Ruine of one Another.

In that hard Acceſſe, and cruell Conjuncture, wherein ſhe could not gaine without loſſe, ſhe propoſed to herſelfe to follow alwayes the fortune of the weakeſt, to make the Counterpoiſe to the ſtrongeſt, and to diſpoſe them to Reconciliation, when both deſpaired of the victory, which ſucceeded unto her. Alliances are alſo good to preſerve union, and nouriſh th' Intelligence of Houſes which otherwiſe are obliged to be of good underſtanding, and which a Common intereſt doth conjoyne and bind. Inſomuch that if they make not the knot, they tye it faſter, If they forme not the friendſhip, they beat it; if they do not introduce the concord, they confirme it; Tis for that reaſon they are ſo frequent amongſt the Princes of th' Houſe of *Auſtria*, and were heretofore betwixt them of *France and Navarre*, and betwixt them of *Caſtille* and *Portugall*, before th' union of thoſe Crowns. But what muſt be underſtood of moſt certain from Alliances, and to which Princes who make them, and their Counſellors ought chiefly to have an eye; is, to draw ſome preſent utility, or ſome future good, whilſt the Wills of them who are conjoyned in Alliance, are in heat, and th' emotion which that Bond brings doth laſt. *Francis the*

firſt

Book III *first* married *Elnor*, *Sister of Charls the fifth* to recover his Liberty, as I have said; *Phillip the second* gave his youngest Daughter to the last *Duke of Savoy* to make him seise upon the *Marquisat of Saluce*, and to cause the Gates of *Italy* to be shut against us, and to deliver *Milan*, from the jealousie which that neighbourhood gave it. *Ferdinand of Castille* Marryed *Germania*, *Neece of Lewis the twelfth*, to break the Leagues which were framed betwixt *Lewis*, *the Emperour Maximilian*, *and th' Arch Duke Phillip* to his prejudice, and to dissipate th'Intelligences of those Princes that were not favourable unto him.

In consideration whereof I say that the Alliance which the King had made with the King of *England*, ought to be placed amongst his wisest Elections in the felicities of his Reign. And that they who advised him to it could not give a sounder Counsel, and that it hath been a great honour to *Sr. the Cardinall* to have mingled his Cares with those of his Master, and his disturbances with his Master's for th'accomplishment of that worke. 'Tis not a small advantage to render ones enemies weake; and to make a power retire that is contrary to us or suspected, is a great advance; But tis the perfection of wisedom to draw to ones selfe a good that was intended for them that love us not; & to gain that which we make them lose. If we had not made haste, *Spain* who suffered that Alliance t'escape their hands, and which sometimes loseth her Advantages in seeking of them too cunningly and too great; Had, it may be, renewed it. And if that had been, is it not probable, that it had invention enough and Artifice for to keep us alwayes in Check by the means of *England*; That it had manadged at pleasure the Protestants of *France* with their hands, and had assured all his designes in making the Counterpoyse to ours with that party which was also entire; That the losses which they lately received had affrighted them more then beaten them, and that the sight of their wounds yet bloudy, and the desire of revenge rendred them irreconcilable; tis at least certaine, that it diverted the Ruine, and was opposed to its dammage.

That if *England* hath turned her Arms upon us; if it hath since quarrell'd us; and if the capricious humours of a particular person hath been the Torch of a publique dissention; It was a stroak which was not in the power of humain discourse to foresee, and the reason of State did not permit that a Prince should give so pernicious an example to his subjects, as openly to favour *Felony* in the states of another *Prince*; yet it may be said in truth, that the peace which ensued

ed that War, and which was so advantagious to us, is in part an effect of th'Alliance whereof we speak, and the worke of that *Princesse* which shall be hereafter th' Indissoluble band of the friendship of the two Brothers, and th' Immortall subject of the Concord of both Nations. Adde to this th' Interest of Religion which is very considerable in this Alliance, of the great good it produceth to have accustomed th'*English* to permit th' exercise of it in the Queen's family. Tis no small matter that they are made acquainted with our Holy Mysteries, and that they are no longer offended at that which they have had a long time in detestation ; Tis to be believed, that this holy humanity which now is in safety amongst them, shall not be there without a tast of its Graces; and that th'Example of good souls to whom 'tis permitted to provide for their safety without crime, may touch them, and bring them to the knowledge of that truth their fathers had forsaken. Book III

The Fifth Discourse.

Of the Greatness and Importance of the Siege of Rochelle.

I Will not play th'Oratour upon the taking of *Rochelle*, nor amuse my selfe with the Flowers of Rhetorique, and th' Ornaments of that Science which hath not significant expressions, how rich soever, for the subject which I treat. I will not exalt the glory of that siege by the Reputation of a City whose name hath passed to th' *Indies* with reputation, by the course and Merchandize it made upon all Seas. Th' Heresie and Rebellion to which it served for sanctuary in *France*; The friendship of *Protestants*, and hatred of *Catholiques* which it equall y exercised ; had rendred it famous in th'Earth. I speake not now of the place, nor of th'advantages of its scituation, where it seemed Nature had placed all she had of strength and Art, had laid out all she had of Invention. I passe by the comparison of the sieges of *Tire* and *Antwerp*, which others have spoken of, and which are inferiour to ours. Though one of them was the principall worke of the Prince of *Parma*, and the admiration of the past Age, and the other th' great effect of the power of *Alexander*, and th' Industry of *Greece*. I take another way and will indeavour to declare the value of the Conquests which we have made in other Ages. Heretofore nothing was more easie to a Conquerour then to subdue a Province,

Book III and the gaine of a battell delivered up a whole Countrey to the victorious: wherein there was scarce any strong place. Now that th' Art of making Warre hath changed face and conduct; That 'tis in all Countryes almost reduced to cast up Earth and to retrench; That few Battells are fought; that the life of Men are better Husbanded; and that an Army cannot March very farre, but a Fortresse is in its way; 'Tis no marvell, if there be as much difficulty, and by consequence as much glory to take a *Fortress* of Reputation, as there was heretofore to gain a Province. And not to go farre from past Ages, and the memory of our *Fathers*. Have we not seen with what facility *Mahomet the second* hath taken two Empires from *Christians*, and carried from them Twelve Kingdoms? Will it not be said, that he did runne only in conquering, and that th' exercise of a walke had been as long as the time of his Rapid Victories? 'Tis, that, in effect, in those great *Territories* of Countrey, and extent of those vast Regions there was not a good place but *Constantinople*. And yet that place was lost rather by the Cowardise of *Christians*, and in the fury of the justice of God, than by the valour of the *Turks*, and industry of the besiegers. *Selin* the first had only the *Mammelucs* to defeat in the Field to be Master of all *Ægypt* and *Syria*, and the progresse which the *Grand Seignors* made heretofore in *Persia*, and the facility they found to possesse that Land, proceeded from that they encountered not one strong Town that stopped them and hindred the Inundation of those Monstrous Armies which they brought thither. On the Contrary, who doubts but that the conquest of *Rhodes*, was not more honourable to *Soliman*, then that of th' Empire of *Trebisonde* to *Mahomet*; Who makes Question that *Strigonia*, *Buda*, *Alba Royall*, and *Zigbet* were not more eminent peeces and more famous Monuments for the glory of that Prince, then a dozen Kingdoms for the other's glory? And if he could have added *Malthe* and joyned *Vienna* to his other victories, the past Ages had not seen fairer Trophies then his, and he might have marched in Front with *Alexander*, *Cæsar*, and *Tamerlan*, though he had not run over so many Nations as they had done, nor invaded so great a number of Countries.

To give some new Light to my subject, and some extraordinary colours, I will propose also that noble difficulty which some have written of. To wit, Which of the two Actions is most noble, and meritorious, either the gaine of Battell, or the Taking of a good place; without staying upon that which hath been said upon this subject. It seems to me, that

that the last of these Actions requires a more profound and more generall abilitie ; That it exerciseth more virtues ; and by Consequence there's more honour in taking a Fortresse well defended, then to win a Battell though it be well Contested. The reason is, that in a siege Men must fight above th' Earth, and in th' Earth. The strength of the place is to be overcome, and the Resistance of men. Fresh enemies are to be encountered , which are Concealed and do expect. Men are exposed to th' Artifices of fire, and to those horrible Inventions which with death bring the torments of Hell , and paines that are not naturall ; Long labours are to be endured , Continuall watching, and all th' Injuries of time. Book III

Briefly, Industry works more there then force , and fortune acts lesse there then virtue ; That happens not in a Battell, where Men fight onely above Ground and against Men ; where all things are almost equall on both sides; where Men are not consumed by Languishments , and Travell ; and where four howers decides the business ; where Impetuosity doth act sometimes more then Conduct, and valour gives not so much the victory as extravagancy of fortune , as a command ill understood of th' Enemies side , as an unexpected Accident, and as a *Pannique* Terrour.

But to decide this doubt with a more exact and certaine Policy ; I say , that those Meanes are more noble and Estimable which produce th' End that is proposed, and brings a Man to the Mark he Aimes at ; than they that leave a Man in the Middle of the way , be they never so glittering , and what shew soever they make. And therefore if the gaine of a Battell were the Conquest of a *Province* as it heretofore hapned , and the taking of a Towne the reducement of a single place, as it falls out for the most part ; There's no Question but the second Action is inferiour to the first , and of an Inferiour Merit to that of th' other. But when after the gaine of a Battell th' enemie continues strong, where there are other armyes to fight, and a number of good places which stop the Conquerour, and put a Bridle to the victory; Who doubts , but the gaine of that Battell is lesse Considerable then the taking of a City, which is th' head of a whole Countrey , or of a whole party ; which will bring in all the rest to th' obedience of the victorious ; and after that no Resistance to be made but what shall be weake and rash. Who doubts that *Scipio* did not more in subduing *Carthage*, and making the Rivall of *Rome* the Subject of *Rome* ; than *Hanibal* did in the three Battells wherein he Conquered the *Roman* ; since *Rome* subsisted for all that, and that the

Book III the spring of the warr remained unstopt. And therefore who can also doubt, that the reducement of *Rochell*, after the losse whereof we have seen a party fall, which had so long a share in *France*, and divided the *Soveraigne* authority; which had offered so many affronts to our *Kings*; which had so often opened our parts, and our frontiers to th' Enemies of the State, and made the Country of their Birth, a Country of Conquest; who can I say doubt, that the taking thereof is not to be preferred before four Battails, which have been gained against it; because they left life and force to recover; since that all-bloudy and coverd with wounds, it was formidable unto them that had put it into that Condition; since after that, it gave the law to the victorious, and forced a peace of as much advantage, as could have been expected from a victory. That consideration obliged th' *Holy Father* t' answer *Cardinal Borgia* who had represented unto him, that he had not made the like demonstration of joy for the taking of *Breda*, which he had done for the taking of *Rochell*; *The Taking of Breda was no more then the taking of a Towne whereof th' Hollanders had their Revenge a little after.* But the Taking of *Rochell*, was beating downe th'head of a *body* and *overthrowing* the foundations of a Building.

The Sixth Discourse.

Of the Instructions may be drawn from the siege of Rochell; and from what the King did after the Reduction of that Towne.

After the precedent Considerations, lets see what may be observed in that siege which serves for my principall designe, and for th'Instructions of the *Publique*. 'Tis not *Hannibal* alone that knew how t' overcome, and knew not how t' use the victory. The like faults are encountered in all ages, and the cause why sometimes Men are not happy enough, is because Men are not alwayes wise enough. Fortune alone may very well begin the greatnesse of a Man, but she cannot finish it, without virtue. And though it be not in the power of expert Pilots to make the winds propitious; It depends nevertheless upon their Industry to make good use of them, and to husband them well while they last; Of them then who give over at the first successes they obtaine, and stop at th' Entry of their prosperity; some of them are astonished at their happinesse, and insomuch that they have been forced into th' Haven, and that they did not bring themselves thither; They dare not any more put forth to Sea. They content themselves with what they have gained.

They

They will not put their Reputation to Reference, and re- Book III
ſemble certaine perſons who having leapt over by night, or in th' exceſſe of a paſſion, a very large ditch or ſome very dangerous paſſage, are raviſhed with what they had done upon ſight thereof by day, or that their ſouls are ſunk, and are not bold enough t' attempt the ſame Action, after the conſideration of it; Others will taſte of the good which is hapned to them and rejoyce in the victory, and conſider not that in that time, th' Occaſions ſteale away from them, fortune retires, and th' Enemies gather ſtrength which hinders them to march on. There are ſome, that decline not to do well ſo much by diſtruſt of their virtue, or by the weakeneſs of their Courage, as for feare of Envy; and had rather poſſeſſe in peace a Moderate reputation, than provoke that maligne paſſion which cauſeth us to be more afflicted for the good of others, then for our owne ills; and that even friends cannot behold the glory of their friends, if it be very high, nor ſuffer their Brightneſſe if it be very lively. Th' examples of what I have ſaid are but too ordinary. The *Grecians* have very often committed ſuch faults; and 'tis certaine that the Batteli of *Salamina* opened unto them the dore for the Ruine of *Perſia*, and for the Conqueſt of *Aſia*, if they had known their advantages, or if they had not been glutted with their ſucceſſe. The victory of *Lepantha* brought nothing to the *Chriſtians*, which they had not before that warr. The moſt famous Battell that was ever gained upon the ſea was unfruitfull in their hands, all the gaine of the victorious, was, not to have been overcomed. The price of ſo memorable an action determined in it ſelfe, and gained nothing from abroad, that Crowned it, and was its Recompenſe. *Charles the fifth* alſo as Great a perſon as he was, forgot himſelfe after the journey of *Pavia*; and if in the Conſternation wherein *France* was fallen, for th' Impriſonment of their *King*, and for a ſtroak ſo little expected; He had aſſaulted our frontiers, He had not met with any Reſiſtance. He had not, it may be, left Rivalls to his nephews; and had paid himſelfe by his hands the ranſome of his priſoner. The *King* did not handle it ſo after the reliefe of *Ruë*, nor corrupt the fruits of that victory for want of purſuite. It was truly much to have performed an action which was held almoſt for a miracle, and to gaine an end of what was eſteemed Impoſſible. It was much to have revenged ſo many affronts th' *Engliſh* had heretofore done us, and purged the ſhame of the loſſes of *Creci* & of *Poitiers* after two ages. But it had not been enough for the *King* if he ſtayed there, and though th' Effect was great, It was not reaſonable for a *Prince* to retire whoſe

Book III. forces were strong, & to whom so much remained to be done.

The second Consideration, and which is a necessary sequel of the first; is th' Incounter of the time the *King* made choice of, very seasonable for that siege. The choice it may be of the time, is the greatest secret in Affaires, and most powerfull Meanes to make them prosper. *Cæsar* did supremely possesse it, and it was one of the words of *Charles the fifth* and of *Philip* his son, *I and the Time to Two others*. These words may admit of too Interpretations; *Th' one* is to know, how t' order a man selfe in the time of ill fortune; To strike saile when the Tempest is too strong; not t' oppose ones selfe to the violence of a destiny provoked. T' avoid the stroakes with dexterity which cannot be resisted in a streight line; To put them by, to cast our selves on Quarter, and t' observe th' occasion of some favourable Revolution, and of a better adventure. *Charles the fifth* gives that Counsell to his son in th' instruction he left him, and the *Spaniards* have been accustomed to make better use of it then any people in the world. He practised it at the peace of *Passo*, which had been shamefull to th' *Empire* if the Necessity had not rather made it, then th' Inclination of th' *Emperour*. He practised it at the peace of *Soissons*, where the want of money interrupted the prosperity of his armes, and he was constrained to offer himself for Hostage to the *Germans*, who without that had a designe to seize upon him; The *Spaniards* practised it also some two yeares since at the peace of *Suza*, and they diverted in flying, the storme, which did threaten them, and restrained the Thunder which was ready to fall on them, if they had not humbled themselves. The Truce which we made the last yeare at *Carignan*, when the plague defected our armies, and that the warr was the least of the Flailes of th' anger of God, was a stroake of that a ddresse, and gaveus meanes to prepare for the Relieve of *Casal*, and to save *Italy*.

Th' *other* Interpretation, is, to know how to make choice of the best time to make an Enterprize. For 'tis true, there's a certaine Moment in time, and a certaine Encounter of causes in affaires, which being passed they returne no more together, and 'tis to no purpose t' attend th' Effect, when the Causes cease. Th' *Italians* have called it very aptly *Conjuncture*, but it was not possible to find a more favourable then that under which the siege of *Rochell* was formed. That towne was almost without a Garrison, th' *English* had emptied it of Victualls. *Holland* durst not send it but a desavoured Releese, and by Consequent weake. *England* which we had so ill handled, could not send any but fearefull persons, and the Rebells were reduced t' expect more from th'

Elements

Elements then from Men, and from our Impatience then from their Force. The third Consideration is th' Enterprize of the *Ditch*, and th' Acceptation of the proposition which was then made; It must be Confessed, that there was use of an extraordinary virtue for a worke without Example, and there was not lesse need of Light and understanding to Comprehend the possibility, then of fire and Courage to propose the Means of reducing it in Act, and t'overcome the difficulties which were not ordinary; *Tyre* and *Antwerpe* have nothing seen of like, whatsoever is said, unlesse, it may be, they will Compare the *Mediterranean* Sea with th' Ocean, and a straight and quiet Channell with a Channell extreamly Agitated, and unmeasurably Large. Book III

In the Matter of these novelties, There are that doe generally reject all of them, by reason of the vanity that is found in many, and who had rather beleeve nothing then expose themselves to the shame of being too Credulous. Tis to have too little Judgment, or too great a distrust of ones selfe; and in th' Affaires of the world, Th' universall Maximes are not ever to be followed which are sometimes deceitfull, though they are many times true. But a great Minister of State ought to know how to distinguish what is manifestly false, from what hath some apparence of true, and what is feasable from what is Impossible. 'Tis not that 'tis necessary that He possesse all th' Arts with the same perfection, as they who make profession but of one; But it sufficeth that he know them in such a degree, and with so just a light, that he may secure himselfe, from th' Imposture though it be very subtile, and observe what is good though it be not very excellent.

The *fourth* Consideration, that th' Enterprize of the *Ditch*, is th' Evidence of an extreame vast soul, and of a Courage not distasted by Difficulties, nor wearied by Time. Th' *Humours* of the *French* are ordinarily too lively to languish after a designe. They will suddenly see th' End, or abandon it; what they carry not at the first Assault, rebukes them: The stroaks they lose, weakens them as much as those they receive; and their proper Impetuosity tyres them not lesse then the Resistance of what they Assault. But the *king* hath made it appeare in this occasion whereof I speake, that having not the vices of the *French*, he had in an Eminent degree the virtues of other Nations; and that he had a very great Boldnes t' undertake and Constancy to pursue it, and Patience to finish it; The first spoile the Sea made upon the *Ditch*, had shaken any other Courage but his, and the violence of the Equinoctialls, had daunted an Imagination lesse

Book III lesse firme : but He believed, that the feare which might fall into the soules of Men commonly constant, ought not to fall into his, and that it was too little for his power and fortune t' overcome Men, if he did not also resist the force of the starrs, and Elements, and what nature hath of most impetuous and rapid. There are affaires which must be abandoned so soon as they are begun either in regard of their Impossibility or that they serve for hinderance to better and more profitable designes. And 'tis true, that t' opinionate in this, is a Manifest imprudence. That the shortest follies are the best, and that the further a Man goes when he is out of the right way, the more he wanders. There are others which are infinitely important, and are but difficult; and of them an end must be had whatsoever they cost, or perish or carry them. After that th' *Earle of Fuentes* had besieged *Cambray*, and reduced that City to the Tearms of being taken or of rendring; *Sr. of Vie* entred with some Releefe. So soon as he was Entred, he changed all th' order of the defence, and spoiled th' Enemies by the faults they had committed in beginning the Seige. He dismounted their Cannon with his; He made their Batteries to flye with his Mines; He rendred unprofitable a part of their Labours, and did Incommodate them in such manner, that it was proposed in the Councell of the *Spaniards*, either to raise the siege or to begin it againe, and give it another forme. *Th' Earle* of *Fuentes* knew well th' Errour, which had been committed in the beginning; and that the sheep wherewith he had to do were the same, but that they were governed by another Shepheard, notwithstanding that he protested that he would dye there rather then retire, and that he had rather be obstinate in overcoming the Difficulties which were there in continuing the first designe, then discover his Imprudence in quitting it, and take by that Meanes courage from the souldiers, and Reputation from his Armes. When *Cæsar* had laid downe before *Alexia* or *Vercingentorix*, it was shut up with four and twenty thousand Men to defend it. He saw come upon him four hundred thousand fighting Men which came to besiege him, and such a fearefull Cloud of Men of warr to surround him. That nevertheless did not trouble him, and in somuch that the Question was of the decision of a great Affaire, and that he would with one onely Blow affright all the body of the *Gaules*, He resolved upon a bold Charge, He did not abandon the siege and marched to meet th' Enemies which drew towards him; He defeated them, and compelled the besieged t' yeeld, and *Vercingentorix* t' humble it selfe, and to lay its greatnesse at his feet; which they could not preserve with all

the

the force of the *Gaules*; And after that the *Spaniards* had surprized *Amiens*, The dead *King*, did he not resolve to lose himselfe or retake it; T'hazard rather all his State, then to suffer that breach to remaine open; and that it was begun in a place which discovered th' heart, and left nothing secure even to the Gates of *Paris*. This proceeding appeared at first a little strange, and seems t' hold more of Despaire then of force, and of obstinacy then Constancy. That nevertheless is not so, and that which seems to be beyond the Limits of virtue, is not ever so but by Comparison. Book III

These Limits are not fixed and immoveable. They have Many degrees according to th' abilities of them that exercise them: And th' Excesses which the *Philosophers* permit t' *Heroique* virtue, and th' extreamities wherein they suffer, which she passeth over; Are not Excesses or Extremities for her, but for th' ordinary virtues, and for the Common of Men. If they that served the *Duke* of *Anjou* in the siege of *Rochell* had had the faithfulnesse of *Sr. the Cardinall* or his prudence, if they had loved the Good of the State so well as he, and the Reputation of their Master; They had not advised him to rise at the Evening of taking of it, and to give the victory that was Ripe and ready to be gathered. They had rather imitated that *Great Captaine*, and had said as th' other did at *Garillan*, That they knew of what Importance that Enterprize was to the *King*, and that it must be gained or perish. But 'tis not of new Date; that there are people in the State which love Confusion, and who Imagine themselves to be like *Physicians* who should not be Considerable without the sins of nature, nor in honour if there were not sick persons.

The prosperities of the *King* stop not at the taking of *Rochell*; our Armes were instantly beyond the Mountaines, and *Casall* saw its deliverance at the sole noise of our passage. That unheard-of Quickness equally surprized our Allyes and enemies, and those who believed, that the Conquest we had newly made, was of the kind of those victories, which make the victor to weep; would never have imagined that without tireing or taking breath, we went to force th' *Alpes* in the midst of winter, and seek beyond the Mountaines a new harvest of glory. The Rebells of *Languedoc* immediately after saw the *King* with them, and we have seen in lesse then two Months all the places rendred or taken, and those fearefull Bastions which have consumed twenty yeares labour, and the wealth of that party, humble themselves to his powers. Tis that virtue, which the *Romans* called *Celerity*, and which we call *Quickness* wherewith *Cæsar* made himselfe

Book III

selfe Master in 40 dayes, of *Italy*; in 60, of *Spain*; and in lesse then three yeares of all that which *Rome* had Conquered in more then seven hundred yeares. 'Tis with that virtue, that *Gaston* of *Foix* in lesse then six weeks relieved *Bologna*; Defeated the *Venetians* at *Villa Franca*; retook *Bresse*, and gained the battell of *Ravenna*. This is to know how to make use of the victory, but in an admirable Manner. 'Tis to sayle as long as there is any wind; 'Tis to second *Fortune*; 'Tis to make use of th' *occasion*. There's glory in acting a number of great things; but tis a marvell to performe them in a little time, and to place in a small intervall, th' Actions that will honour the course of many yeares; one victory nevertheless begets another, and as a needle rub'd with th' Adamant attracts many; Prosperities tread upon th' heeles of one another, Provided that men give not over: That they are the same Chiefes that governe, and the same souldiers that act, and the same discipline that doth exercise them.

The Seaventh Discourse.

That the generall of an Army ought alwayes t' Intend th' End of an Enterprize; and that Foresight serves more then Courage t' attain it; and whether the King had Reason to make the truce, was made at Carignan.

THat a Generall of an Army propose to himselfe to go alwayes to th' End of what he shall undertake, and that he know that if a good Beginning makes halfe the work that nevertheless nothing is done, if th' end faile; and therefore let him make Choice of the most proper Meanes t' attaine it, and not them that cost most fire in th' Execution and have the most *Pompe*. They shall be in their dignity and have the price they deserve when th' End is gained. Let him not then be shaken at what the world shall say; and that he remember the Conduct of *Fabius Maximus*, who suffered the *Roman* people to wound his Reputation, and endured the bitings of that Beast with many heads, rather then quit the designe he had framed to destroy *Hanniball*, without fighting him; For at last he obtained of the same people, the Sirname of most Great which they had not given to any but him, and which they gave not to any other Captaine after him.

That he remember th' Answer the *Prince* of *Parma* made to the dead *King*, when he sent him th' offer of Battell dureing the siege of *Corbiell*; *That his Master had sent him into France to relieve Paris, and to hinder the growth of Heresie. That if t' attaine*

taine that End be found, That the best and quickest Expedient was to give Battell, that he need not doubt, but he would give it; if not, That he would not fight at the will of his Enemies. Th' end then Crownes the work and whatsoever a Man doth of Eminent and extraordinary. If he stay in the way, all that will not produce unto him but an imperfect honour, and an Abortive of glory. What served the gaining of four Battells by our *Kings* against the protestants; to have spilt so much *French* and stranger's blood; and lay wast so many Townes and provinces for that Quarrell, since that Heresie and Rebellion have after that subsisted? Of what use were so many past Expeditions into *Italy* and into other places, since that after the faireſt Entries and th' happieſt Beginnings in the world; The victory remained to our enemies. From thence was formed that opinion which had its course amongst other people, and which latter times have belied, That nothing was to be feared from us but th' Assault and first heat. That's not to say, as some have interpreted it, That we are more then men at the beginning of Combats, and lesse then women at th' End; Thats not true; and our valour hath sometimes, a continued posture and equall pursuit, and sometimes Accesses and Remissions as well as other nations. But 'tis true, that ordinarily in the Beginning of our Enterprizes, we bring a very hot Courage, and a Resolution more then humane, but a little after we abate; we fall into languishment and defects; we have no more force nor breath. Book III

According to what I have said, the Truce which we made at *Carignan*, and which was so ill understood of the greatest part of the world deserves a particular praise; since it gave us Meanes t' enlarge our Troops, and to take away the Matter of the plague which made them desolate; T' assemble new forces; To prepare for a Revictualling of *Casal*, and to deliver that place which was the neareſt End of the warr, we made, and a part of the Generall. In vaine without it had we so happily begun the warr and raised the siege of *Pignerol* at the face of three Armies and of four great Captaines. In vaine with a handfull of Men should we have defeated so many enemies at *Villana*, and overcome th' obstinate Resistance of th' old Regiments of th' Empire; and in vaine should we have forced at *Carignan* redoubles of three halfe Moons, and beaten those brave *Spaniards*, whose number of fighters was known by the dead, and the Prisoners.

But as boldnesse, discipline and obedience are the virtues of souldiers; Prudence, Conduct, and constant Meditation of the Meanes which cause the victory are the virtues of Captaines,

Book III taines, and Generalls of Armies. 'Tis with these Qualities that they ought to distinguish themselves from them that are under them. These are properly the forme of their profession; They do constitute the difference. Courage, and the Contempt of death are not, to speake properly, but the body and the Matter; and ther's not so much glory for a Chief to go to blowes, t' enter upon dangers when he must, and when the occasion presseth, as there would be shame Not to do it; That would be more pardonable in a single souldier, whose wounds are the springs of poverty and misery, than in great persons to whom they are Characters of honour, and the seeds of Immortality; which give them place in History whose markes are venerable in th' eyes of a *Prince*, and in th' eyes of the people, and adorne them better then all their Ornaments and precious stones. It should be a strange thing if the most illustrious profession of the world, and the noblest of all the functions of life, which is that of Commanding Armies; should be so easie, as that there were no more to do then to run to death and to cast ones selfe into danger to make him Worthy. There would be too easie a bargaine had of eternity which it promiseth, and the *Gladiators* might more lawfully pretend to it, then those exalted soules which prepare themselves for it with great Cares: who make the boldnesse of Reason to descend to th' heart, and who make that divine part, the principle of their Conduct, and of all their Actions.

If *Cæsar* had had but Courage in the degree he had it, and that violent heat that gathers about th' heart at the sight of danger; He had not effaced the glory of other *Romans*; many had been found to have equalled him in that thing, and *Coriolanus*, *Capitolinus*, *Marcellus*, *and Catiline* also had disputed th' Advantage with him. Courage alone had not rendered *Epaminondas* the chiefe person of *Greece*; and *Pelopidas*, and *Leonidas*, and many others, had not yeelded unto him in the Resolution of dying for their Country. *Ferrant Gonsalve* had an admirable prudence, and, as it was said of *Epaminondas*, That it was not known which of two Qualities prevailed most in him, Knowledge or Valour. For my part I make it a question whether *Epaminondas* was the greater Captaine or Counsellour, whether he was more Capable to governe an Army, or to guide a Negotiation; And more proper to subdue Men or gaine them. And to speake of ours; *Gaston* of *Foix* had Courage, and Good sense equally raised in him. He acted at least as much with the last as with th' other. The Command of th' Army of *Italy* against that of the League was given him, not as to the most Famous, but as to the most

Capable

Capable, and he did not ſo much ſuſtaine the dignity of Ge- Book III.
nerall by reaſon of the ſplendor of his Race, as by reaſon of the Merit of his perſon. I will give you two examples which will make it appeare, That he was truly in all ſenſes th' Head of his army; and had a Wit ſuperiour t' all them that obeyed him. When he went to releeve *Bologna*, he manadged that deſigne with ſo great ſecreſy, that he was on the way before his Army doubted it, and was within it before his Enemyes knew it; At the journey of *Ravenna*, he alone ordered and diſpoſed of the Battell. Of three bodies which compoſed it, He choſe not one of them to command. He reſerved onely for himſelfe a Troop of voluntary Gentlemen to be free, and to charge where there ſhould be need. I ſpeake not of his eloquence; 'Tis ſufficient to ſay, that it lives yet with honour in hiſtory; and hath been admired of ſtrangers, and of them alſo who eſteem'd us Barbarous. It muſt be confeſſed that that *Prince* at th' Age of 22 years wherein he died was a compleat Man, and that no life was ſo ſhort and more glorious then his. Th' head then and the good ſenſe are more neceſſary for a Generall of an Army, then Armes and impetuoſity; and 'tis foreſight that begets the victory, rather then courage. 'Tis ſtudy, Meditation, and conference which ought to prepare the great Perſon whereof I ſpeak; and 'tis the Practique and Experience which finiſh and compleat them. For that reaſon, It was ſaid of *Epaminondas*, that never man knew ſo much and ſpake ſo little. 'Tis not that he eſteemed ſilence a great virtue, as ſome have interpreted, nor that he preferred it to ſpeech conducted by good ſenſe; But 'tis that, in effect, he alwayes tumbled up and down ſome great deſigne in his Braine; That he thought of raiſing *Thebes* of humbling *Sparta*, and of ſubduing the *Grecian people*, which to his time had been invincible.

How excellent *Sr. the Cardinall* is in this Matter; How active and lively his Reaſon is; how infallible and juſt his providence, and how efficacious the diſpoſition of his Conduct; Lets not amuſe at words to declare it; and let's lend nothing of ſtrange to a truth that hath no need of it; lets add nothing to th' effects, and to what hath been touched or ſeen but a naturall Repreſentation; let's leave th' Artifices, and painting for moderate Beauties, and for Common virtues. For this effect, I will content my ſelfe to ſpeake of the ſecond warre of *Italy*, wherein he particularly preſided, and whereof he had the principall government under th' Auſpicious Planets of his maſter; I ſay then, that it had been much to make a great Army ſubſiſt in *Piedmont*, if the Country had been favourable to us, if abundance had been in all

Book III

places, and in a ſeaſon when the paſſages had been eaſie to us. But to make it live in th' enemies Country, and where all men and all things were Contrary to us. In a ſeaſon when Barrenneſſe was in *France*, and proviſions were to paſſe the Mountaines, when ſnows were at th' higheſt; It muſt be acknowledged that it belongs not to a vulgar Providence to ſtrike ſuch ſtroakes. It was to ſupply by his Wit and Conduct what was wanting to the nature of things. And the *Marquis of Spinola* who never thought it, ſeemed to have Reaſon to ſay, that he who had moſt proviſions would remaine victorious in that warr. He believed infallibly t' have that advantage over us, having th' Earth, and Sea for him, knowing that our Country Men are enemies t' orders, without which armies ſuffer in the midſt of abundance, and wherewith they ſubſiſt intirely in the midſt of want. He remembred that at the warr of *Genes*, th' army of the dead Conſtable was vexed with hunger though it was ſmall. Though it had *Piedmont* in its favour and made warre onely for th' Intereſts of the *Duke* of *Savoy*; But when he ſaw, that we reſiſted thoſe great incommodities; That we had found Remedies againſt thoſe evills and new Inventions to carry the proviſions: 'Tis then he confeſſed the *French* had changed their humours, or at leaſt that the ſheep were the ſame, but governed by other Shepheards. Theſe things truly are great, and have been worthy of admiration from our enemies and of them wh' admire not much but themſelves. But they are not nevertheleſſe the Maſter-peece of *Sr. the Cardinals* induſtry, nor the great effect of his prudence. The preparatives for the releaſe of *Caſal* are a peece moſt Illuſtrious and Magnificent. And as the works of the leaſt size are more ingenious then th' other, and that 'tis more difficult for an artificer to make a work of a ſmall volume to proſper then a greater. In like manner the foreſight which operates much in little time, and in a ſhort intervall diſplayes a very large Matter; is of a price, and Conſideration more exalted then that which is acted at great leiſure, which hath a free field t' extend itſelfe, which hath no bounds to Conſtraine it, and which is not oppreſſed by the brevity of time, and by the greatneſs of its object. To raiſe thirty thouſand men in leſſe then ſix weekes; Make them March through *France* and over the Mountaines during that time; Give order for all neceſſaries; T' enable them to live, and ſubſiſt; To ſend them to a Country ſpoiled with Contagion, and into places where the plague might give feare to them, that did not feare men; againſt powerfull Enemies covered with Retrenchments and ſtrong holds; defended by a caſtell,

and

and a Town; In a time when the diſgrace the *Venetians* re- Book III
ceived at *Valeſe*, and th' unhappy ſucceſs of their Armes. The ſurprize of *Mantoua* which had ſomewhat of fatall and inimaginable. The rendring of the Town and *Caſtell* of *Caſall*; had put all our friends into deſpaire, and the greateſt part of the *French* into aſtoniſhment. Add to that th' Artifices uſed by ſome ill *Frenchmen* to ruine the *Kings* deſignes and th' honour of *France*. The traverſes they raiſed within; which were the more dangerous that they were ſecret and ſilent, and reſembled the Mines, which make them leape who march upon them without ſuſpition or defiance. And what was moſt fatall and of ill augury, the *Kings* ſickneſs and the deſpaire of his recovery. This ſad accident which might alone have troubled a weaker ſpirit then the *Cardinal's*, ſaw th' unhappy State of our affaires, and of our Allyes; and for the revolution it had cauſed in the generall order of the World, and in his particular fortune. That this black Conjunction and ſo many Inconveniences linked togethe r did not diſturbe his judgment nor abate his action. That the neceſſary proviſions for the Releeſe of *Caſall* were provided. That *Caſall* was relieved; If th' unhappineſſe of this time permitted me to ſpeak a bold truth, and if his modeſty of whom I ſpeak would not be offended, I would ſay, that ſince *Caeſar's* time the world hath not ſeen a ſtronger Conduct, more reſolute or wiſer; and if that had happned in the time of the Common-wealth of *Rome* or of old *Greece*, that it had been one of the faireſt Monuments of their Hiſtory, and one of the moſt famous Inſtances of their policy.

I will not conceale a very remarkable Condition in the Conduct of *Sr. the Cardinal*. 'Tis that he prepares alwayes, if he be not hindered, meanes which ſeem immeaſurable and too powerfull to produce th' End which he propoſeth t' himſelfe. 'Tis properly t' employ Exceſſe s' under defect. 'Tis to part very early not to faile the arrivall at the journeyes end. 'Tis t' have a remainder, t' avoid having too little 'Tis not t' act ſingly, but infallibly. 'Tis in a word the Country Cuſtome of th' ordinary humour of the *French*. To whom th' heat of temper and vivacity of imagination alwayes repreſent th' Enterprizes more eaſie and of leſſe durance they they are in effect. Moreover the preparations they make are ever leſſe and weaker then the nature of th' Enterprize requires, according alſo to the proportions they have imagined, and according to the Meaſure of their apprehenſion. Wherefore they are conſtrained to retire in the midſt of their Courſe, and all things faile them, when they have moſt need, and in the ſtrength of th' Affaire.

This

Book III

This indiscreet proceeding and tumultuary fashion of acting hath been cause of infinite evils which have vexed *France*. That they have often stirred ill humours which were left behind without purging of them away; that so many faire Beginnings we have had in the warrs, had not answerable ends; And in a word, that we have not known to conserve th'advantages we had gained, nor keep the Conquests which we had made. *St. the Cardinal* carried himself in another manner and kept another way, when it was necessay t'force th' *Alpes*, and to break the *Barricado's*, which opposed the safety of *Casal* and the liberty of *Italy*; He advised the *King* to march thither with an army, capable to subdue all *Italy*, and to passe from *Suza* to *Ofrante*. So truly the Reputation of those great forces, did impart th'effect which we aimed at: It acted farr off, and all alone sit began t'overcome so soon as it began to march; and the *Spaniards* who it may be had marched to meet us, and had disputed all the passages with us, if we had been weak; durst not attend us in their trenches of *Casal*, and did not believe that there was safety for them in the *Castle* of *Milan* but by a treaty of peace. This served to pull up by the roots the Rebellion of *Languedoc* and to lay flat a Party, which had long Rooting in this Province; six armies were seen at one instant to be drawn out against them; and that division of Forces which took away the springs of Relief, and Communication to the rebell-townes. In short the *Cardinal* knew that the first Maxime of warr is, *That who layes out most, layes out least*. That the petty frugalities which are made out of time, are certaine losses of what is advanced; that 'tis not to sow with hope to gather, but not to seem to do nothing; and that they who give such covetous Counsells in necessary occasions, seek not so much the good of th'affaires of their Master, as not to lose the matter of doing their owne business.

The End.

THE TABLE OF THE *MINISTER of STATE.*

BOOK. I.

First Discourse.

THat, An Excellent Minister of State is an Evidence of the Fortune of a Prince, and the Instrument of the happiness of a State. Page. 1.

The Second Discourse.

That th' Art to govern is doubtful, and difficult; and receives a great relieve from Learning. p. 6.

The third Discourse.

That the knowledge of the Morall, is a necessary preparation for the Politique. p. 9.

The fourth Discourse.

How that saying of the Philosopher's is to be understood, that, Who commands ought to be wiser and better then the person that obeys. p. 12.

The fifth Discourse.

That good Ministers of State have not alwaies the Recompence which they deserve; and that their Services are often payed with Ingratitude. p. 15.

The sixth Discourse.

Th' Artifices used by Ferdinand *to destroy the Great Captain.* p. 19.

The seventh Discourse.

Of the disgrace of the Duke of Alva. p. 23.

The Table.

The eighth Diſcourſe.

That in th affairs of State, men do that ſometimes which they would not do, and that there are inevitable Faults. p. 25.

The ninth Diſcourſe.

Where the precedent Diſcourſe is confirmed by the Example of the Spaniards. p. 28.

The tenth Diſcourſe.

That Princes do approve but of the Services they Command, and puniſh oftentimes them that are done againſt their Orders. p. 31.

The eleventh Diſcourſe.

That a Miniſter of State ought to regulate his Demeanour by the intereſt of the State, and of his Prince; Provided that he offend not Juſtice. p. 36.

The twelfth Diſcourſe.

That a Miniſter of State ought endeavour to make his Deportments more Profitable than Eminent. p. 40.

The thirteenth Diſcourſe.

That 'tis of Importance that a Miniſter of State be Learned. p. 46.

The fourteenth Diſcourſe.

That 'tis of importance that a Miniſter of State be Eloquent. p. 49.

The fifteenth Diſcourſe.

That the Councill of a Prince ought to be compoſed of a few perſons. p. 51.

BOOK. II.

First Diſcourſe.

THat a Compleat *Miniſter of State ought to be able for Counſel, and for Executions and ought to have a free power particularly for the War.* p. 57.

The ſecond Diſcourſe.

Whence the Virtue of keeping a Secret proceeds, and how neceſſary it is for a Miniſter of State. p. 61.

The third Diſcourſe.

That a Miniſter of State cannot have an equall Soul, unleſſe he hath made tryall of Good and Bad fortune. p. 64.

The fourth Diſcourſe.

That the Science to diſcover the merits of Men, and t'imploy them, is neceſſary for a Miniſter of State. p. 69.

The

The Table:

The fifth Diſcourſe.

Of a Fifth temper, which comprehends the perfections of all th'others. p. 73.

The ſixth Diſcourſe.

That a Miniſter of State ought not to form his Conduct by the Example of ſtrangers; and that he ought to treat with them after a Different Manner. p. 78.

The ſeventh Diſcourſe.

That a Miniſter of State ought to treat in a different Manner with ſtrangers, as they are powerfull and free. p. 87.

The eighth Diſcourſe.

That a Miniſter of State ought not inviolably t'act that which hath been alwaies practiſed in the State. p. 90.

The Ninthe Diſcourſe.

That the Counſells of ſtrangers ought to be ſuſpected by a Miniſter of State. p. 94.

The tenth Diſcourſe.

How advices from Rome, *and from the Mediation of the Pope, are to be entertained.* p. 101.

The eleventh Diſcourſe.

Conſiderations upon the precedent Diſcourſe p. 107.

The twelfth Diſcourſe.

Conſiderations upon the Behaviours of Popes and their Agents, which may ſerve for forewarnings to the Miniſters of State of other Princes, who ſhall have occaſion to treat with them. p. 111.

The thirteenth Diſcourſe.

That the Mediation of Popes is very profitable in the differences of Chriſtian Princes, and in th' Affairs of Chriſtendom. p. 117.

The fourteenth Diſcourſe.

Of the Prudence which ought to be obſerved in treating with th' Agents of the Pope, and whether it be Lawfull t'uſe diſſimulation, and How. p. 123.

The fifteenth Diſcourſe.

Whether it be lawfull to make Warre with the Pope; wherein the Demeanour which Philip the ſecond, obſerved in the warre he made is Commended, and that of Charles *the fifth Condemned.* p. 128.

The Sixteenth Diſcourſe

The defence of Gaſton *of* Foix *againſt them, who ſay that God puniſhed him for making War to* Julius *th'eleventh; with the compariſon of that Prince, and of the great Captain.* p. 136.

BOOK.

BOOK. III.

Conſiderations upon the principal things which the King hath done, ſince the Landing of th'Engliſh in th'Ile of *Rhé*; which will declare ſome Conditions neceſſary for a Miniſter of State.

The Firſt Diſcourſe.

OF what Importance, Care and Vigilancy are, for a Miniſter of State; and that nothing is to be neglected, principally in War. p. 141

The ſecond Diſcourſe.

That the true exerciſe of Politique Prudence, conſiſts in the Knowledge of Comparing things with things, and to chooſe the greateſt Good, and t'avoid the greateſt Evill; And to conſider whether the Counſell Sr. the Cardinall *gave to paſs into th'Iland of* Rhe, *was grounded upon the Rules of Prudence; And, if the King did well to march into* Languedoc *after the taking of* Suze. p. 147.

The third Diſcourſe.

That one and the ſame Conduct in War is not to be obſerved. p. 153.

The fourth Diſcourſe.

Of the Alliances of blood which are practiſed amongſt Princes; *and whether the King was well adviſed, when he made that Alliance with* England. p. 158.

The fifth Diſcourſe.

Of the Greatneſs and Importance of the Siege of Rochelle. p. 169.

The ſixth Diſcourſe.

Of the Inſtructions may be drawn from the ſiege of Rochel; *and from what the King did, after the Reduction of that Town.* p. 172

The ſeventh Diſcourſe.

That the Generall of an Army ought alwayes t'Intend th'End of an Enterprize; and that Foreſight ſerves more then Courage t'attain it; and whether the King had Reaſon to make the Truce, was made at Carignan. p. 178.

FINIS.

THE SECOND PART OF THE MINISTER OF STATE.

Written by Monsieur de SILHON,
Secretary to the late
Cardinal RICHELIEU.

Englished by *H. H.*

LONDON,
Printed for *Thomas Dring*, and are to be sold at his Shop at the *George* in *Fleetstreet*, neer St. *Dunstan's* Church,. 1663.